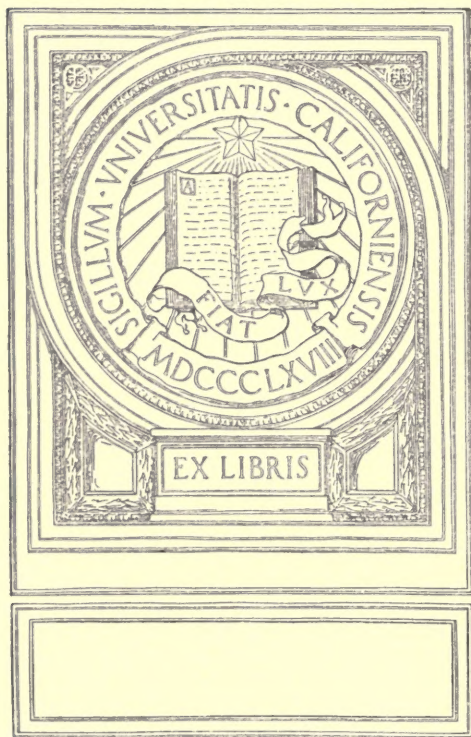
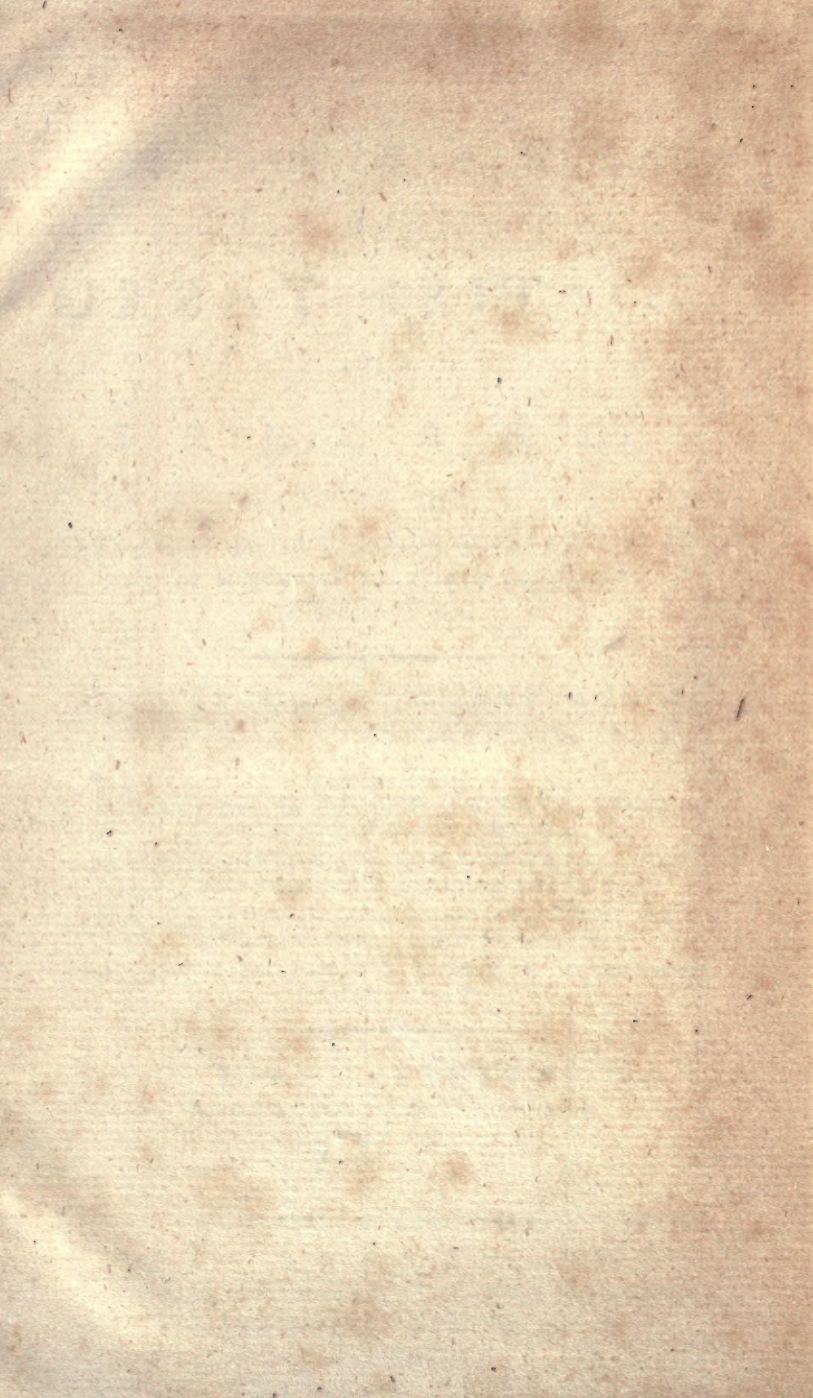


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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES







M E M O I R S
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N
A N D
I R E L A N D ;

FROM THE
Dissolution of the last Parliament of CHARLES II.
till the Capture of the French and Spanish
Fleets at VIGO.

A NEW EDITION, IN THREE VOLUMES ;
With the APPENDIXES Complete :

Consisting chiefly of
LETTERS from the FRENCH AMBASSADORS in
ENGLAND to their COURT ; and from
CHARLES II. JAMES II. King WILLIAM, and Queen MARY,
And the MINISTERS and GENERALS of those PRINCES.

Taken from the Dépôt des Affaires etrangeres at VERSAILLES, and
King WILLIAM's private Cabinet at KENSINGTON.

Interspersed with HISTORICAL RELATIONS, necessary to connect
the Papers together.

By Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.
BARON OF EXCHEQUER IN SCOTLAND.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N :
Printed for A. STRAHAN ; and T. CADELL, in the Strand ;
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M D C C X C.

RECEIVED OF THE
TREASURY DEPARTMENT

FOR THE PAYMENT OF
THE DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES

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OF THE
SECOND VOLUME.

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T O
P A R T I. B O O K II.

N^o I.

Letters from Barillon, which shew the dangerous connections of Louis and James from the beginning of his reign.

Translation.

*Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.
—James's apology to France for calling a parliament.—
His aversion to parliaments.—His arbitrary views.—
His zeal for popery. — Gives a hint for money from
France.*

February 19, 1685.

“ YESTERDAY evening the King of England took me into his closet, and after having talked to me upon several home affairs of no great importance, he said, “ You may be perhaps surpris'd, but I hope you will be of my opinion when I have told you my reasons. I have resolv'd to call a parliament immediately, and to assemble it in the month of May. I shall publish at the same time a declaration that I am to maintain myself in the enjoyment of the same revenues the King my brother had. Without this proclamation for a parliament, I should hazard too much by taking possession directly of the revenue which was established during the lifetime of my

deceased brother. It is a decisive stroke for me to enter into possession and enjoyment: For hereafter it will be much more easy for me either to put off the assembling of parliament, or to maintain myself by other means which may appear more convenient for me. Many people will say that I determine too hastily in calling a parliament; but if I waited longer, I should lose the merit of it. I know the English: You must not shew them any fear in the beginning: The malecontents would have formed cabals to demand a parliament, and thereby have gained the favour of the nation, which they would afterwards have abused. I know very well that I shall yet find difficulties to surmount; but I shall get the better of them, and put myself in a condition to shew my gratitude for the infinite obligations I am under to the King your master.

“ I know into what difficulties the deceased King my brother was thrown, when he suffered himself to waver with regard to France: I will take good care to hinder parliament from meddling in foreign affairs, and will put an end to the session as soon as I see the members shew any ill will.

“ It is your part to explain to the King your master what I say to you, that he may have no cause to complain of my having taken so hastily so important a resolution, without consulting him, as I ought to do, and will do in every thing: But I should have hurt my affairs extremely, if I had deferred it only eight days; for I should have continued deprived of revenues which I now preserve, and the least opposition on the part of those who refused to pay the duties, would have engaged me in levying them by force; instead of which, I shall pretend now that I have the law on my side, and it will be very easy for me to reduce those who would oppose what I do.”

To

A P P E N D I X

able to what he owed to his reputation, and to his real interests, which were to preserve your Majesty's friendship; and that it was just he should act with regard to the interior affairs of his kingdom at he should judge proper himself. I did not think myself, Sire, obliged to dispute without mature deliberation a resolution already taken, and which my arguments would not have altered. I even esteemed it for your Majesty's dignity, that I should not appear intimidated by a meeting of parliament on account of your Majesty's interests alone, when the King of England shewed so little apprehension of his own.

Lord Rochester came to me this morning from his Britannic Majesty, to explain more at large his motives for calling a parliament: He added to what the King of England had said, that if he had not prevented the requests which would have been made to him, the Keeper of the Great Seal and the Marquis of Halifax would not have failed to press him to assemble a parliament; that the present advantage he means to draw from this declaration is, to put himself in possession of the revenue which the late King had, as well as of his crown; that it would have been chargeable to your Majesty, if he had been obliged to ask of you such considerable supplies as those he would have had occasion for; that what he does, does not however exempt him from having recourse to your Majesty; and he hoped, that in the beginning of his reign, your Majesty would help him to support the weight of it; and that this fresh obligation, joined to many others, would engage him still more not to depart from the road which he used to think the deceased King his brother should have kept with regard to your Majesty: That this will be the means to make him independent of Parliament, and to put him in a condition of supporting himself without parliament, if they should refuse him the continuation of the revenues which the deceased King enjoyed.

Lord

Lord Rochester omitted none of the arguments which he thought would convince me that your Majesty hazarded nothing in supporting the King of England at present with a considerable sum of money; that it is supporting the work of this Prince, and putting it out of his power ever to swerve from it; that as for himself, he had not changed his sentiments, and his opinion was, that the King his master could not support himself without your Majesty's aid and supplies; that it would leave him to the mercy of his people, and in a condition of being ruined, if your Majesty did not give him new marks of your friendship in so decisive a conjuncture; and that from this beginning depended all his master's good fortune."

Such were the views of James. Louis, on his part again, prepared to make the same use of that Prince which he had made of his brother, and by the same means: For, without waiting for James's hints for money mentioned in this letter of the 19th of February, he had, as soon as he heard of the death of Charles, ordered money to be remitted to Barillon for the service of King James. What effect that produced in the court of England will be seen in the following dispatch.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Monsieur Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Louis sends James 500,000 livres.—James receives it with tears in his eyes.—The joy of Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin.—Churchill sent to France to ask more money.

February 26, 1685.

"I RECEIVED the day before yesterday your Majesty's dispatch of the 20th of this month by the return of the courier I sent. I went that instant to wait on the King
of

of England. I gave him the letter of your Majesty's hand, which he was so good as to make me read. He seemed to receive your Majesty's testimonies of friendship with the greatest sensibility. I thought I could not delay informing him of your Majesty's care in getting, in so short a time, bills of exchange for the sum of five hundred thousand livres, and sending them to me, in order to my making such use of them as should be most conducive to his service. This Prince was extremely surprised, and said with tears in his eyes, " It is the part of the King your master alone, to act in a manner so noble and so full of goodness to me. I own to you that I feel more sensibly what he has done in this, than any thing that may happen to me in the course of my life ; for I plainly see the bottom of his heart, and how desirous he is that my affairs may prosper. He has even outrun what I could possibly wish, and has prevented my wants. I can never enough acknowledge such a proceeding. Inform him of my gratitude, and be my pledge for the attachment I shall for ever have to him."

I cannot, Sire, express what joy this Prince had to see so speedy and so solid a proof of your Majesty's friendship, and the readiness with which you had sent so considerable a sum. I told him, that, not to detract from what he owed to your Majesty, I would frankly own to him, that in the trouble I was in at the time of the deceased King of England's death, I had thought of nothing further than dispatching a courier to inform your Majesty of it ; and that I had not represented how much it imported to send him a speedy supply ; and if in this I had been guilty of a neglect, it was well repaired by what your Majesty had done. The King of England interrupted me, and said, he could not sufficiently admire your Majesty's foresight and care in giving him speedily such an essential mark of your friendship ; that your Majesty should not be deceived,

TO PART I. BOOK II.

and that he would remember what you had done to fix the crown upon his head.

As soon as I was gone, he shut himself up with the Lords Rochester, Sunderland, and Godolphin, and informed them of what I had told him on the part of your Majesty, in terms which added still to those which he had used to me. They came to me one after the other, to whisper in my ear, that I had given life to the King their master; and that though he had assured himself of your Majesty's friendship, this last proof of it, given so apropos, obliged him beyond all that could be believed.

I expected that what your Majesty has done would produce a good effect, but could not believe I should receive so many testimonies of gratitude; and I see by it that people were willing to have created a fear in the King of England that your Majesty would not make any great efforts to support him. I say this, however, of myself; for I have seen, from all the discourses of his Britannic Majesty, a great confidence in your Majesty's friendship.

I must give your Majesty an account of what passed in the evening. I had a conference with the three ministers: Lord Rochester, as president of the council, explained to me in few words what they had in charge from the King their master to say to me, which ended in representing the necessity of his affairs, and how much it imported him to receive supplies in the beginning of his reign.

Lord Rochester then entered into the discussion of the treaty made with the deceased King of England. We agreed on every thing, even as to what remained for the complete payment of the three last years subsidy. Lord Rochester said, there had always been a difference between him and me in accounting, because he always expected and believed that your Majesty would give two millions a year during three years; that it was true I had
always

always said on my side, that I had never had a power to promise more than fifteen hundred thousand livres for each of the two last years; that this difficulty had not been ended; and that they had not even spoken of the fourth year, which was now almost elapsed, because they did not foresee that your Majesty would have discontinued the deceased King of England's subsidy, whose conduct upon the whole was so agreeable to your Majesty, and been so uniform on all occasions. To this I answered, that I could not take upon me to dispute any thing on matters of fact, unless they were quite plain; that I could not exceed my powers, and had not done it, so that we could only keep to what was agreed on; and that I should not fail to represent to your Majesty all that they had said, to the end you might judge what was convenient for your service, and the advantage of the King of England's affairs.

Lord Rochester finished by saying, The ambassador and I never had a contest; for, as what the King his master gave was a gratification without conditions, I had no right to dispute upon the *more or less*: I believe, however, that what we did together has been for the service of the two Kings, and that neither the one nor the other has been the worse for it. He added, it was his opinion still to treat in the same manner, and to establish a confidence and union similar to that which had already succeeded so well. I agreed in what he advanced; and added, that though the deceased King of England was not formally obliged to renounce his treaty with Spain, he had nevertheless preserved that conduct with regard to it which could have been expected; that the present King was still more free from the treaty with Spain, and not in any shape obliged to a treaty, from the execution of which even the King his brother thought himself sufficiently dispensed. The three ministers agreed to what I said,
and

TO PART I. BOOK II.

and told me that the King their master held himself entirely disengaged from the obligation, however light it was, which the deceased King had entered into.

I promised to write effectually to your Majesty to favour the demand Lord Churchill is to make of a present and considerable supply. We had yesterday another conference by his Britannic Majesty's orders, but there was nothing more said on what was treated of in the preceding one; the ministers strove one after another to make me understand that they did not think it their duty to capitulate, or discuss the interests of the King their master with me; that your Majesty had put it out of their power to say any thing; and that a proceeding so frank and so generous on your part, had obliged the King their master to give them orders to assure me of his gratitude, and to beg me to represent it to your Majesty such as he feels it; that Lord Churchill had no other charge than to thank your Majesty; and for any thing further, they appealed to what I knew of the state of affairs to induce your Majesty to do what you shall please, judging that they ought not to ask any thing from a Prince who had prevented what they might have expected from him.

The King of England spoke to me several times yesterday, and said, that he is penetrated with gratitude, and that he believes he has nothing to fear, being assured as he is of your Majesty's friendship. I have perhaps too much enlarged upon all this; but it appeared necessary that your Majesty should know how much his Britannic Majesty and his ministers have been sensible of what you have done. I have not yet given any money. It will be some days before the bills of exchange become due, the payment of which they would not have me press too much, lest a suspicion should arise upon Change of what is passing; so that I may still receive your Majesty's orders again before I can make any considerable payment; it does not

even appear that they have any uneasiness here about the money. They confide so much in your Majesty, that they believe the money as safe with me as at Whitehall. I may be deceived; but I do not think your Majesty could have done any thing of greater use to you for the future, than having prevented what they might have desired on so important an occasion.

His Britannic Majesty said again to me yesterday in the evening, I don't regard the state in which I am at present, but the state in which I may be. All is peaceable in England and Scotland; but the King your master helped me at a time when it could not be known if there might not be a sedition in London, and whether I should not be driven out of it."

Upon the death of King Charles, the Prince of Orange endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between King James and himself, and for this purpose sent over Monsieur Overkerque from Holland, and wrote himself to the King's minister the Lord High Treasurer Rochester to intreat his good offices. James received his advances with the same insincerity with which he suspected they were made.

Barillon writes on the 26th of February 1684-5, that it having been said the Prince of Orange was to wait upon the King to vindicate himself, the King told Barillon that he would receive the visit, if the Prince asked leave to make it. Barillon adds, "There enters into the matter a little pleasure, which his Britannic Majesty will take to see the Prince reduced to submission."

On the 1st March 1684-5, Barillon writes, that James, on making an apology to him for having written to the Prince of Orange upon the death of King Charles, used these words: "That he had written him two lines with

with his hand, merely to inform him of the news, without adding any other testimony either of friendship or good will." The letter of notification is in King William's box, and confirm's Barillon's relation. It is in the following words :

James the II^d, to the Prince of Orange.—Notifies the death of King Charles.

Whitehall, February 6, 1685.

" I HAVE only time to tell you, that it has pleased God Almighty to take out of this world the King my brother. You will from others have an account of what distemper he died of ; and that all the usual ceremonies were performed this day in proclaiming me King in the city, and other parts. I must end, which I do, with assuring you, you shall find me as kind as you can expect."

On the 8th of March 1685, Barillon writes to his court, that James told him he was obliged to preserve appearances with the Prince of Orange, in order to prevent the popular party from finding a head, and to make them believe the Prince and he were united ; but that the King added, he knew the Prince too well to be deceived by him.

The following dispatch gives a particular account of what passed between King James and Monsieur Overkirk, when the Prince sent him to England.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth. — James refuses to receive the submissions of the Prince of Orange, unless he shall connect himself with France.

March 1, 1685.

“ I AM just come from Whitehall. The King of England took me this evening into his closet, and told me that Mr. Overkerque had asked a private audience of him a little before supper; that, having admitted him, he said, that the Prince of Orange not only repented of his conduct to the deceased King of England, but sincerely acknowledged the faults he had committed towards his Britannic Majesty now reigning; that he would do all in his power to make reparation, and to merit his good graces, by an entire submission to his will, and a sincere attachment to his interests; and would follow punctually what should be prescribed to him. The King of England told me his answer was, that it would always give him pleasure to see the Prince of Orange in his duty, and shew a true repentance of what was past; but he could not admit his submissions, nor believe the protestations made on his part to be sincere, if his submission was not complete, and without exception; that the deceased King of England and himself had maintained an union with your Majesty, which the Prince of Orange had always opposed; and if he inclined to change his sentiments with regard to the home affairs of England, he must also do it with regard to your Majesty, and observe a different conduct from that which he had held for a long time past with regard to you; that this first step was absolutely necessary in order to his being able to give any credit

credit to what might be said on the Prince of Orange's part."

Barillon writes to his court on the 5th and 19th of March 1685, that James had desired of Overkirk that the Prince should remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland, and his adherents from the British regiments in the Dutch service, and had renewed his application for the Prince's attaching himself to France; that the Prince had consented to the two first articles, but had avoided giving an answer upon the last. Part of this relation is also confirmed by the following letters from the King to the Prince, in King William's cabinet.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is pleased with the concessions which the Prince has made.

Whitehall, March 6, 1685.

" I AM fully satisfied, and shall rely upon the assurance you gave me in your letter, and what Overkirk said to me from you, which has had all the effect with me you can desire. It is now very late, and I have had so much business all this day, till now, that I have not time to say all I intended: And as to the proposing some officers to you in the place of those you have turned out, by the next I shall recommend some to you, and shall soon dispatch Skelton into Holland to you, in the room of Mr. Chudleigh; and you may be sure, that so long as you keep those measures with me which you profess, of which I make no doubt, you shall find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 16, 1685.

“ I WOULD not let this bearer, Monf. Overkerke, return back to you, without writing to you by him, and assuring you at the same time, that it shall not be my fault if we do not continue upon very good terms. He can give you so true an account of all things here, I having informed him the best I can of affairs here.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 17, 1685.

“ WHAT you have written to me lately, and the assurances you have given by Monf. Overkerk, have so fully satisfied me, that I have ordered this bearer, Mr. Skelton (whom I send to succeed Mr. Chudleigh), to assure it you from me, and hope, for the time to come, the same confidence will be established between us, as our near relation and the good of our family requires. What else I have to say, I refer to him, to whom you may give entire belief, and have charged him also to let you know what measures I intend to take as to affairs abroad, that there may be no mistakes.”

In King William's cabinet there are the two following answers from Lord Rochester to the letters which the Prince of Orange had written him concerning his desire to be reconciled to the King. The first is without date, but must have been written before the other, because he receives the Prince's advances with a distance, as to particulars, which perhaps was decent in the prime minister of

of another Prince. The other enforces the King's desire of having Monmouth removed from Holland.

Translation.

Earl of Rochester to the Prince of Orange, written soon after the death of Charles.—In answer to one asking his good offices with King James.—General assurances of zeal for his service.

“IT is with much joy that I have received marks of your Highness's remembrance; and it is with all the submission imaginable that I give you most humble thanks for the honour which you have done me of honouring me with your commands, and for all the goodness which you shew to me in your letter. I can assure your Highness, that you will not deceive yourself in doing me the honour to believe, that I will never fail in my duty in every thing that will be for your service; all my wishes tending to nothing more in this world, than to see your Highness as well in the favour of the King as is proper for a person so strictly united to his Majesty by birth and by alliance, to which I hope I see such great approaches within this little time, that I cannot doubt of a good and happy success. And I think I ought not to conceal from your Highness, that you have in your own hands every thing you can ask. Be not deceived in believing that you can have need of my services, or that my poor cares can be useful in a work of so great importance. Permit me to say, that your Highness ought not to have need of, and consequently cannot wish to have a mediator between you and the King, and that the strong inclination which your Highness shews to do what the King expects of you, and the goodness which his Majesty has always had with regard to you, cannot fail to fill you with joy and contentment;

tentment ; in which nobody in the world will have a greater share than he who, with all sort of submission, asks the honour of your good graces, and who will be all his life one of your most obedient and zealous servants."

N^o II.*Letters concerning Monmouth's Rebellion.*

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.—Advises him to remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland.

" I GIVE your Highness most humble thanks for the favourable expressions you are pleased to use towards me, in two letters of the 10th and 13th instant, that your Highness hath lately honoured me with ; and since you are pleased to encourage me in the freedom with which I spoke to Monf. d'Overkirke, and writ to your Highness, I think it agreeable to your mind, as well as to your service, that I should continue it ; and therefore I beg leave to say this to you, as a thing that I cannot but think the King would take well of you, though I have not his orders to say so much ; and it is in relation to the Duke of Monmouth, who is said to be always very near the Hague, if not in it : Upon which I would offer you this in short, that as it cannot be for your Highness's service that it should be imagined he is there with your privy, so it may be presumed, that considering the authority your Highness hath, and the good intelligence you cannot be supposed to want, that he can be there, and your Highness not know it. I hope your Highness will not be offended with me for stating the matter in this manner, which I may do the better, because I do not suspect your Highness is privy to his being there ; but

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then,

then, methinks, your Highness might let every body see, that if you knew he were so near you, it would be very disagreeable to you ; the consequence of which would be, that he could not stay long there. I do not believe the King hath the intention of driving him from country to country, and to make all places uneasy to him ; but, on the other hand, it is not at all necessary, nor in truth decent, considering the circumstances he hath put himself in, that he should be hovering just over against England, and as it were always in a readiness to transport himself. Your Highness may be pleased to make the best use you think fit of this humble advice that I presume to offer you ; it is only for yourself I mention it, and I am the rather induced to it by your own commands to me, to advertise your Highness of any thing that I think you might do that would be agreeable to the King, and by an expression in your own letter to me, that you do not love to do things by halves ; and so I leave it to your Highness's judgment with all the submission that I owe.

Whitehall, April the 14th, 1685."

These letters from James and Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange, were soon followed by the King's recalling the Prince's favourite Mr. Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney) from Holland, where he commanded the British troops in the Dutch service, and had been envoy from England ; and by the appointment of Mr. Skelton to be envoy there. It appears from Barillon's letter to his court 29th March 1685, that Skelton had orders from James to act in concert with d'Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, and from others of Barillon's letters, that Skelton was always ready to irritate James against the Prince of Orange. The Prince therefore remonstrated against both measures, but afterwards submitted. A copy of his letter to King James on this subject is in his box, as follows.

Translation.

Prince of Orange to James the Second.—Remonstrates against recalling Sidney, and sending Skelton as envoy to Holland.

Fortlaerdyke, June 25th, 1685.

“ I WOULD not have failed to have answered the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write me by last post, if Mr. Sydney had not been going away. I cannot dissemble with your Majesty that I could have wished your Majesty had thought proper to have left him here; since I can assure you that there never was a minister in this country who succeeded better, or who did you more faithful services: it is also impossible that any person can be more zealous for your service, for which I can answer. And these are the reasons which made me and all the honest people of this country regret him, and which have obliged me to give him the regiment of the deceased Earl of Ossory, and the command in chief of your Majesty's subjects in this service, the States not having thought proper, in this time of peace, to dispose of the charge of General, of which Mr. Sidney will inform your Majesty more particularly, and of what has passed here upon that affair. I doubt not your Majesty will approve of the choice I have made, since assuredly I could not have found a person who would have been more faithful to your interests, for which I will remain his pledge. I intreat your Majesty not to take it amiss, that I represent to you anew the hurt you will do your interest in this country, if you send Mr. Skelton to it. I have nothing to say against his person, and am even inclined to believe they did him wrong in what he was accused of; but it is a thing that never can be removed from the imaginations of

of people here; and I have besides other reasons, upon which I explained myself at large in a letter which I wrote last post to my Lord Hyde, which without doubt he will have communicated to your Majesty; so that I hope you will not mortify me so far as to send any one here with whom I cannot live in good intelligence. That, however, will not prevent me from endeavouring to serve your Majesty with the same ardour and application which I have always done, and nothing can happen which can make me change the fixed inclination and attachment which I have for your interests; and I should be the most unhappy man in the world if you was not persuaded of it, and should not have the goodness to continue me a little in your good graces, since I shall be, to the last breath of my life, with more zeal and fidelity than any one can be, your Majesty's, &c."

The following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange during the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, are in King William's cabinet.

James the 2^d to the Prince of Orange.—Warns him of Monmouth's intention to rebel.

St. James's, April 28, 1685.

"I RECEIVED your's of the 30th, by the last post, but had not time to let you know it on Friday last; and by letters, which came over by the same packet, have it confirmed to me, that some of the fugitive rebels, which have lurked long in Holland, have had a meeting with the Duke of Monmouth there very privately, and have some design in hand on Scotland, or elsewhere, and that they have bought arms, and are sending them by the way of

Amsterdam, for the West Highlands of Scotland, with an intention of making a raising there ; but of this Skelton will give you a further account ; and this day I spake to the ambassadors here about the rebels and fugitives that are there, that they may be sent away out of the country, according to what is stipulated in the treaty, which, I hope, you will get done, it being very necessary to have those turbulent traitors driven out of Holland."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

St. James's, May 5, 1685:

"I HOPE that the ships which were to have sailed from the Texel, with cannon, arms, and ammunition for Scotland have been stopped by your's, or the States orders, before they got out, or that some vessels I have sent that way may have met them ; you see how busy and restless that rebellious party are. I hear that Lord Argyle is already gone for Scotland, and that the Duke of Monmouth has designed to go either after him, or come over hither into England, in a short time, to make, if he can, some disturbance ; but I am preparing for him and the other in both kingdoms. I have reason to believe that the Duke of Monmouth is still in Holland, either at Rotterdam or Amsterdam."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Vexed that Argyle's ships have escaped.

May 12, 1685.

"ON Saturday last I had yours of the 15th, by which I see the orders were given for sending those fugitives out of your country, and I make no doubt but that you will do your part to have it well put in execution, you seeing how necessary it is it should be done. I see by the same

same letters, how vexed you are, that the three ships, laden with arms and ammunition, from Amsterdam, got out to sea, notwithstanding the orders you had given to stop them. I hope you will do your part that no more follow them, and that you will endeavour to know whether the Duke of Monmouth be gone with them, or remains still in Holland, as it is reported."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, May 19, 1685.

"I HAVE now two of yours to answer, one of the 22^d, the other of the 25th, and do easily believe if you had been at the Hague, the Lord Argyle, with his three ships, had not got out; and see, by the same letter, that what I had desired of the States, concerning my fugitive subjects, was ordered, which I take as kindly as can be desired, and as you say, I am sure you will look to its being well executed. Lord Treasurer shewed me the paper you mentioned in yours of the 25th: I believe the intelligence is true, and the rather, because yesterday I had letters from Scotland that gave me an account of Lord Argyle's having been at the Isle of Orkney, in his way towards the West of Scotland, or North of Ireland: He sailed from those isles the 8th, old stile, so that I expect every day to hear of his being landed. I have reason to believe the phanatick party have a design to rise if they can in some part of England, and that the Duke of Monmouth is already privately here; I am taking the best care I can to prevent it; and now you see how little trust is to be given to what the Duke of Monmouth says."

James

A P P E N D I X

*James the IIId to the Prince of Orange.—Desires three
Scotch regiments to be sent to Scotland.*

Whitehall, May 22, 1685.

“**YOU** will hear from others how well the parliament have behaved themselves this day, after I spoke to them, so that I need not repeat it. This morning I had letters from Scotland, which gave me an account that Argyle was landed at a place called Dunstafrage, in the shire of Lorne, in the West Highlands, where, with the help of the arms he carried with him, and the interest he had heretofore in that part of the country, I believe he will get a good number of disaffected men together; and though I make no doubt, by God’s help, that the rebels will soon be mastered, yet there is no harm of providing for the worst, and therefore I have charged Mr. Skelton to propose to you, the lending me the three Scotch regiments that are in your service, to be sent over into Scotland; and if this is a thing you can do, the sooner it is done, the more reason I shall have to take it very kindly of you.”

*James the IIId to the Prince of Orange.—Refuses to
accept the Prince’s offer to go to Scotland with the
Scotch regiments.*

Whitehall, June 2, 1685.

“**L**AST night I had yours of the 5th, by which I see you had received mine, in which I desired you to lend me the three Scots regiments to be sent to Scotland, and was the next to propose it to the States, which, I hope, by the next, to hear they have agreed to; for though I have reason to believe that the rebels there will be in time reduced, yet such a body of old good men as those three regiments are, will help very much towards it. I take very kindly of you what you offer concerning yourself; but besides that you cannot be spared from
where

where you are, this rebellion of Argyle is not considerable enough for you to be troubled with it; however, I am as much obliged to you, as if I had accepted of the offer you made me as to yourself."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.——Desires the three English regiments to be sent over, because Monmouth is advancing."

Whitehall, June 17, 1685.

"**W**HEN I wrote to you yesterday I thought the militia would have kept the Duke of Monmouth shut up within Lyme, but by the fault of those of Devonshire or Somersetshire, he has opened his way towards Taunton, which is a very factious town, and where he may increase his numbers; and though with those troops I have raised, and am raising, I make no doubt of mastering him in some small time, yet to make all sure, I desire you to lend me the three English regiments that are in your service, and they may be sent over with all possible speed."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.——Declines accepting the Prince's offer to come over to England.

London, June 30, 1685.

"**T**WO days since I had yours by Monsieur Bentinke, who has given me a full account of all you had charged him with, and I take very kindly from you all the offers you made me by him, and I make no doubt, but by God's help, your sending me the three regiments I desired of you (the three Scotch being arrived this day at Gravesend), to put a speedy end to this rebellion. As to your coming over, which he told me you were ready to do, if there were any necessity of it, I do not at all think it proper at this time for our common interest, it being as necessary for you to stay in Holland at this conjuncture, to keep all things well there, as it is for me to stay here in London. I have discoursed at large with M. Bentink

upon this subject, who will also give you an account of it. However, I take it as kindly from you as if you had come, and am as sensible as you can desire, of what you have already done."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—*Much pleased with the regiments sent by the Prince.*—*Monmouth retreats.*

Whitehall, July 3, 1685.

"I Received on Wednesday yours of the 6th, by which I see the English regiments were to be embarked by the beginning of this week, and must again thank you for them, and if they be but as good as the Scotch regiments, which I saw this morning, I shall be doubly pleased; for as to these I have seen, there cannot be, I am sure, better men than they are, and they do truly look like old regiments, and one cannot be better pleased with them than I am, and must again thank you for them."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—*Monmouth defeated.*

Whitehall, July 7, 1685.

"I AM sure it will please you very well to hear that it has pleased God to give my troops good success against the rebels here in England, as well as in Scotland. The Duke of Monmouth was got with all his troops to Bridgwater, and had summoned all the country to come in to him to fortify it; upon which Lord Feversham marched on Sunday last from Sommerton to a village called Weston, which is within some two or three miles of Bridgwater, near which he camped, with what he had of my old troupes, which consisted of about two thousand foot, in six battalions, and some seven hundred horse and dragoons, and eighteen small field pieces: the Earl of Pembroke with some horse and foot, of the militia were quartered

quartered in a village behind him, having not tents to camp with. On Sunday night the Duke of Monmouth came out of Bridgwater over the bridge, with all his troops, himself at the head of the foot, and Lord Grey commanded his horse, and came on with that great order and silence, that our parties which were out to see if he marched, did not hear them, and drew in battle upon the plain, and advanced streight on to our camp, hoping to surprize them, and about two in the morning engaged our foot with great vigour, and were as well received ; they had but three pieces of cannon with them, which they brought up, within pistol-shot of our foot. Our horse in the mean time drew up on the right hand of our foot, the left being so covered that they could not be taken by the flank, and charged the rebels horse, which consisted of fifteen troops, and beat them, at the first charge, but did not pursue them far, but fell back into the rear of the rebels foot, which made great resistance, but at last were all cut to pieces, their cannon and two and twenty colours taken."

James the 2^d to the Prince of Orange.—His interviews with Monmouth and Lord Grey.

Whitehall, July 14, 1685.

" I HAVE had yours of the 17th, and now the Duke of Monmouth is brought up hither with Lord Grey and the Brandenburgher. The two first desired very earnestly to speak with me, as having things of importance to say to me, which they did, but did not answer my expectation, in what they said to me : the Duke of Monmouth seemed more concerned and desirous to live, and did behave himself not so well as I expected, nor so as one ought to have expected, from one who had taken upon him to be King. I have signed the warrant for his

execution to-morrow. For Lord Grey, he appeared more resolute and ingenious, and never so much as once asked for his life : his execution cannot be so soon, by reason of some forms which are requisite to be complied with."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.——Monmouth's execution.

Whitehall, July 17, 1685.

" I FIND by yours of the 21st, that you had heard of the defeat of the rebels, and before this you will have been informed of the Duke of Monmouth having been taken and brought hither. He was very solicitous to have gained more time, and did many things towards it, not very decent for one, who had taken on him the title of King. He was beheaded on Wednesday on Tower-hill. He died resolutely, and a downright enthusiast."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices that the rebellion is ended.

Whitehall, July 19, 1685.

" THE kind message you sent to the King by Mr. Bentinck, and your good wishes, I believe brought us good luck, for God be thanked here is an end of all troubles, and in such a manner as that we may hope never to see the like again as long as we live. I have desired this bearer to give you a thousand thanks for all the marks you give me of your friendship, both by him, and in your letter. I am extremely pleased with it, and desire nothing more than the continuance of it, of which I will not doubt, being resolved to show myself upon all occasions, truly and sincerely yours."

Notwithstanding these smooth letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, Barillon writes to his court 21st of May 1685, that the King complained to him that the Prince of Orange had permitted Lord Argyle to fail. On the 7th of May he writes, that the King said he was to keep on fair terms with the Prince only till the session of parliament should be over; and at an after-period near the time of the revolution he writes, that the King told him, it was very lucky there had been no occasion for trying the fidelity of the regiments which the Prince of Orange had sent over in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion; for that most of the officers were disaffected.

Lord Dartmouth's manuscript note on page 631, vol. 1. of Bishop Burnet's History, is in these words: "Fletcher told me he had good grounds to suspect, that the Prince underhand encouraged the expedition with design to ruin the Duke of Monmouth." The authority is high. Fletcher was in a situation to know, and he was incapable of lying.

The effect of the King's suspicion soon appeared in his insisting to appoint the commander of the six British regiments in the Dutch service, in the place of Mr. Sydney, whom he had recalled. At first he proposed that Lord Pembroke should have the command. The Prince consented; but the appointment did not take place. Afterwards the King recommended Lord Carlingford, a Roman Catholic. But the Prince positively refused his consent, and the King yielded in his turn.

The correspondence on this subject is in King William's Cabinet as follows :

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Presses for Lord Pembroke's command.—Is to make a camp at Hounslow.

Whitehall, August 10, 1685.

“ **A**S to what concerns Lord Pembroke's affairs which I recommended to you so earnestly, I hope that if you press the States to it, they will agree to it, especially when you may tell them no pension will be desired, now in time of peace ; and for a regiment, that as I keep Cannon here, he Lord Pembroke may have it. 'Tis true he has seen no service, he is a stout, ingenious, and industrious man, and one on whom I can entirely rely, and so will be sure to propose none, nor recommend any to you, but such as are truly loyal, which is of great consequence to me ; for as they are yet composed, there are some officers, and many soldiers, were better out than in those regiments ; and besides that, he has really served me eminently well in this last affair, against the Duke of Monmouth ; all which considerations will I hope prevail with you, to do your part to get it done, and then sure the States will not be against it. As for news, all things continue very quiet here, and are like to continue so, though the Republican and Presbyterian party are as willing as ever to rebel, only want an opportunity. I shall have most of my new foot at Hounslow by the next week, where I intend they shall all camp for some time.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Thanks for Lord Pembroke's affair.—Commends the appearance of the troops encamped at Hounslow.

Windfor, August 25, 1685.

“ I HAVE received yours of the 27th, by which I am very glad to find you do agree to what I proposed to you concerning the Earl of Pembroke, and thank you very kindly for doing it, and shall send to advertise him of it, that he may make what haste he can over to you, to thank you for your kindneses to him. As for the names of any of the magistrates of Amsterdam, when I can get any authentic proofs against them, I shall let you have it, which, I fear, will be hard to be got, though 'tis certain some of them knew of the Duke of Monmouth's design. On Saturday last I saw some of my troops at Hounslow, they consisted of ten battalions of foot, of which three were of the guards, and the other seven new-raised regiments; of horse there were twenty squadrons, and one of grenadiers on horseback, and one of dragoons, and really the new troops of both sorts were in very good order, and the horses very well mounted: I was glad that the Marechal d'Humieres saw them, for several reasons.”

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Mons. Bentinck.—Refuses to give the command of the English regiments in the Dutch service to Lord Carlingford, recommended by the King.

“ I AM under an extreme embarrassment from the King's thinking proper to name the Earl of Carlingford to me for the command of the six regiments of his subjects who are in this service, because there is nothing

thing in the world I desire more than to give satisfaction to his Majesty in every thing that depends upon me. But as the Earl is a Catholic, and it would hurt me extremely in this country if I gave the command of these six regiments to a person of that religion ; and as I was obliged, which no doubt you will remember, to represent the same thing to the deceased King with regard to the Earl of Dunbarton ; and as his Majesty had the goodness upon that not to insist upon it any longer, I find myself forced to represent all this to the King, in hopes that his Majesty will have the same goodness, and that he will not wish me to do so great an injury to myself in this country, without bringing any advantage to him. I would have made this representation directly to the King, if I had not thought that it was more respectful to do it by your means. I entreat you to take the trouble of it, and that in whatever manner you think proper, and you will oblige extremely him who will be always entirely yours."

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—Presses him, from the King, to give the command of the British troops in the Dutch service to Lord Carlingford, a Papist.

" I N obedience to your Highness's commands, which I received by your letter of the 19th of this month, I have represented to the King what you directed me concerning my Lord Carlingford, and the prejudice it would be to your Highness if he commanded the King's subjects in Holland ; upon which his Majesty has ordered me to assure your Highness that he will never desire any thing of you that can possibly be disadvantageous to you ; and if my Lord Carlingford's being at the head of those troops could be so, he would never have writ to you about it, nor would continue to press it as he does. His Majesty not thinking it unreasonable for him to recommend
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a man of quality and honour such a one as he likes to be over his subjects, and that his being a Catholic is no argument against it, since men of that religion have been so often employed in Holland in all places and at all times. That when my Lord Dunbarton was proposed by the late King, the noise of the plot and the clamour of the faction were at the height, which is the reason his late Majesty pressed it no further; but all that being over long ago, and his present Majesty employing Catholics where he finds they are fit, he cannot but desire that my Lord Carlingford may command those regiments, and thinks the alterations of times and persons ought to be considered. This his Majesty has directed me to write to your Highness, to which I have nothing to add, but that I am sure the King would be very well pleased if this might be done, and that he will take it extremely well of your Highness if you could comply with him in it. For my particular, I am very sorry that you should desire any service of me out of my power, being, with the greatest respect and submission possible, yours."

Windfor, August 24, 1686.

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Lord Sunderland.—Refuses positively to give the command of the British troops, in the Dutch service, to Lord Carlingford.

Dieren, September 12, 1686.

"THE day before I left the Hague, I received the letter which you took the trouble to write to me on ^{24 Aug.}_{4 Sept.} upon my Lord Carlingford's affair. It would be not decent, and I have too much respect for his Majesty to enter further into reasonings on that matter; and therefore I have only to beg you will humbly intreat his

his Majesty, on my part, to have the goodness not to insist upon this affair, and I will take it as a great favour. I am sorry to give you so much trouble, and I crave you not to take it amiss, and to believe me always, &c."

N^o III.

The King's intrigues with Louis for money, and his chagrin on refusal.

IN the mean time, Lord Churchill not having succeeded at Paris in getting money for his master from the French court, King James and his ministers renewed their attempts with Barillon. The following dispatch relates the particulars. I print the whole of it, though long, because I presume the effect of it will be to make every British reader, even at this day, shudder, when he reflects what an escape from arbitrary power our ancestors made at the Revolution.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James asks a supply and subsidy from France.—His views.—Conferences with Godolphin, Rochester, and Sunderland, and their views.

March 26, 1685.

"WITHIN these few days I have had many conferences with the King of England and his ministers, in which I have been much pressed to represent to your Majesty the state of affairs in this country, and at the same time to ask such a supply of money as may put the King of England in a condition to support himself, and not sink under the efforts which it is expected

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his enemies will make as soon as an occasion offers. Lord Rochester, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin, came to me together, and explained the need the King of England had of a present supply, that is to say, of a considerable sum of money, in order to enable him to conduct himself with a necessary firmness towards his parliament, and not to grant any of those conditions prejudicial to his authority, which undoubtedly will be proposed to him at granting the revenue which the deceased King enjoyed. They told me the resolution was taken not to accept what the parliament would grant for a limited time, because it would establish a necessity of assembling a parliament, which would change the form of government, and render the King their master entirely dependent on that assembly: That rather than fall into this inconvenience, it would be better to have recourse directly to violent remedies, dissolve the parliament, and maintain himself by open force in the enjoyment of the revenues granted for life to the deceased King of England: That it ought not to be presumed this can be done without opposition, and they ought to be in a condition of opposing instantly the first disturbances which shall be raised: That they cannot prevent them by levying fresh troops before the sitting of parliament, nor by bringing in a foreign force, which on the first dissolution of the parliament would rather cause a general revolt in England, than serve to reduce the rebels: That thus the only remedy is, that his Britannic Majesty be in a condition of making one grand effort, and of supporting himself with a sum of money which would facilitate all his designs: On the contrary, if he must wait for the supply he stands in need of, the time will be gone before any advantages can be drawn from it, but which are undoubted, if the supply be immediate.

The three ministers enlarged upon the glory your Majesty would acquire by preserving the crown, as yet but

tottering on their master's head, and omitted no reasons which could induce your Majesty to put him on a foot of owing the preservation and happiness of his reign to you. The conclusion was, they did not doubt but your Majesty would henceforth grant the same subsidy to the King their master which you had given to the deceased King, and even not lessen the two last years of the three, as had been done ; that is to say, a subsidy of two millions per annum for three years : That besides this subsidy, it is absolutely necessary that your Majesty send here before the meeting of parliament a fund of two millions, which will make, with what remains of the old subsidy, a sum of three millions : That the state of the King's affairs required no less a supply ; and that your Majesty, by shewing him a sincere and effectual friendship, would do more by this present supply than by all that could be done hereafter.

I shewed my surprize at hearing the proposal of so considerable a sum, and of a regular subsidy besides. I told them a lesser demand would have been more proper in the beginning, since they might be assured that your Majesty's assistance would not be wanting in time of need ; and they had already seen, that your Majesty had even prevented the demand that might have been made, as soon as you believed his Britannic Majesty was in need : That moreover I did not think it necessary to regulate at present a subsidy before it was seen what would happen on the parliament's meeting, and without knowing if they were inclined to give the King of England the enjoyment of all the revenues during his life, in which case he would be in a condition to support himself more easily, and maintain his authority. The reply to this was, that whatever might arise from parliament, it was not to be expected that the King their master would be able to subsist by himself in the manner he ought for his safety ;

safety ; that it would be necessary to make an augmentation of his troops, and put his ships in a good condition ; that his resolution was taken to remain always attached to your Majesty, and therefore he was not afraid to ask a subsidy for some years, well knowing that your Majesty would at all times be contented with his conduct, and not repent putting it in his power to shew his gratitude.

The same day I had this conference, the King of England took me into his closet, and repeated to me what his ministers had said, adding every thing that could persuade me of the most inviolable attachment to your Majesty's interests. I told him I could not speak to him on the part of your Majesty upon what his ministers had said to me, not having foreseen it ; that I begged of him, in my own particular, to consider what your Majesty had already done to prevent his wants ; that I thought this proof should rather lead him to leave your Majesty the choice of what you inclined to do, than to importune you for a large sum as a thing of absolute necessity ; that the fixing of a subsidy appeared to me to be premature ; and that an entire confidence in your Majesty would not less engage you than a precise and formal demand ; that I thought the manner in which your Majesty had acted towards him ought also to induce him to take different methods than are ordinarily practised ; and if I dared to advise him, I believed it would not be necessary, in the beginning, to do any thing more than to establish a reciprocal confidence, and an entire correspondence upon future emergencies.

The answer the King of England made was, that he would think upon what I had said ; that he would speak to me again fully, and that I should see Lord Rochester to agree with him on what would be most proper at present. I saw Lord Rochester, and endeavoured to persuade him, that the demand of so considerable a

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sum, joined to that of a subsidy, would not have so good an effect with your Majesty, as being contented with representing the state of affairs, and then referring to what your Majesty may judge most fit to be done on your part; that it behoved him, in the beginning of his ministry, to establish an entire confidence between your Majesty and the King his master, and that nothing which could be refused should be asked; that if I did not know his good intentions from a long experience, I should have believed that he had advised so great a demand with a view to throw your Majesty into the inconvenience of refusing the first thing his Britannic Majesty had asked of you; that he ought to believe I spoke from myself and without orders, not having been able to foresee the affair in question would be agitated; that I loved more to prevent difficulties which might arise, than to give greater hopes here than they ought to expect.

Lord Rochester said, he believed it unnecessary to speak to me of his past conduct, since he and I had for four years managed alone, and without the participation of any other person, interests sufficiently difficult to be reconciled; that I was a witness of his conduct as long as he had the confidence of the deceased King of England; that he hoped I would do him the justice to think I had never seen in him that incertainty and those changes so frequent in the persons who had preceded him in the management of affairs; that he did not pretend to be vain upon what had passed during the last four years; he believed the deceased King of England had acted very wisely and very advantageously for his interests by uniting himself strictly with your Majesty; that your Majesty on your side had found a facility in the execution of all your designs, to say no more of the advantages of your alliance with the deceased King; that whilst the finances were in his hands, he let the payments of the subsidies be just as I pleased,
and

and by this means a whole year had passed over without any mention being made of the continuation of this subsidy, although in this last year Luxembourg was taken, and the peace made in such a manner as your Majesty prescribed to your enemies: that in all this he believed he had served his master well, without having done any thing contrary to the interests of your Majesty; that he therefore deserved to have confidence placed in him at present, and what he advises should not be misinterpreted; that he does not mean to lessen the opinion I may have of his own credit, but that I knew the King his master, and clearly saw he acted in every thing of himself, and nobody knows better than he does the state of his own affairs; that his resolution was taken to live inviolably attached to your Majesty; that there will be neither change nor wavering in his conduct, and that your Majesty might have a positive dependence upon him for the time to come; that with a present supply, and the promise of a subsidy, the King his master would be in a condition to repel the first efforts that can be made against him, and after being well established at home, all his conduct will be directed abroad to preserve a friendship and protection to which he will owe the preservation and prosperity of his affairs; that as for himself, I was well enough acquainted with him to know that he did not believe it was for his master's dignity or true interests to haggle with your Majesty, nor to ask of you three millions to obtain two; that the necessity was pressing, and for a long time there had not happened a conjuncture parallel to this; that your Majesty enjoyed a glorious peace, after having given repose to Europe by a wisdom more worthy of admiration than your conquests; that he sincerely declared your Majesty's conduct in every thing deserved a profound veneration, and that nobody was more filled with it than himself; that he hoped your Majesty would not
diminish

diminish any thing of what was asked of you on an occasion where the King his master's all was at stake.

Since that, I have had a long conference with the King of England, in which he explained to the bottom his designs, and the state of his affairs: He told me, that he knew the aversion the people of England had to the catholic religion, but with support from your Majesty he hoped to surmount this difficulty; that his sole aim was to bring it about, and that he sufficiently knew he could never be in entire safety till the catholic religion was established in England in such a manner as not to be ruined or destroyed; that this could not be done but with time, and by taking great precautions for the future; that he had many views upon it, of which I should be informed when it was time; that at present the business was to lay the foundations of his reign and to establish himself; that the assistance he stood in need of had been explained to me; that it was very opposite to his inclination to make excessive demands, but he also did not hesitate to expose his necessities to your Majesty, having firmly resolved to be all his life attached to your interests; that when he knew what he might certainly trust to, he would undertake things which he would not dare to think of, unless he be in a capacity to support them; that all your Majesty had done glorious for your person, and advantageous to your state, will not be more so than the consequences of what your Majesty shall at present do in his favour, because a present supply, and the opinion already conceived of your Majesty's supporting him, will put him in a condition to bring all his designs to succeed; that he will conduct them with your Majesty's participation, and conformable to your intentions; that the re-establishment of the catholic religion in England cannot succeed but under your protection, and by the help of your Majesty's supplies; that God has put you
in

in a state of greatness and power to which no King of France for many ages arrived, in order to your being the restorer of religion in England.

I told this Prince, that I would represent to your Majesty what he had said ; in the mean while I begged of him to refer himself to what your Majesty might resolve, and not attach himself so much to any precise demand as to hinder your Majesty from seeing that he submits to your judgment and decision the conduct of an affair of such weight, and which requires so much precaution, and so powerful an assistance ; that I am sufficiently informed your Majesty desires nothing more than the re-establishment of religion in England ; but that this undertaking is full of difficulties, and will be strongly opposed, if not conducted with all possible prudence ; that as this is what ought to be concerted with your Majesty, and such solid measures taken as cannot fail, it is but just to refer himself to your Majesty.

Yesterday evening I again saw the King of England ; he pressed me to give your Majesty an account of what he had said to me, and told me that he should wait with impatience for your Majesty's determination, because all his conduct will be directed by the resolution which your Majesty will take.

I have had a long conference in private with Lord Sunderland : He appeared to me to be informed to the bottom of the intentions and designs of the King his master. He believes him entirely resolved to attach himself to your Majesty, and to keep measures with the Prince of Orange only as far as it is at present necessary not to furnish him with occasions for making his ill will break forth. He told me, that those who were for reuniting the King of England and the Prince of Orange would be very glad that your Majesty should not do at present what the King of England desires of you, in order
to

to be able hereafter to find some means of making him lean to the Prince of Orange's side, which will become entirely impossible if your Majesty yields to what his Britannic Majesty at present expects from your friendship."

Several of Barillon's dispatches besides this one prove that James had formed a determined resolution to levy the late King's revenue, whether parliament should grant it or not. Barillon writes thus to his court, March 1, 1686:—"Possession, however, gives a sort of right, and his Britannic Majesty appears very resolved to maintain it, be the consequence what it will." On the 9th April, he writes thus to his court:—"The King continues to act with much firmness and haughtiness; he does not even appear uneasy for the future; even though parliament should not grant him the revenues which the King his brother enjoyed, his resolution seems determined, to maintain and continue the possession of them."

Even when James submitted to act by a parliament, he scorned to court the members. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 30th of April 1685: "This is not the road which the Prince intends to follow; and nothing is more opposite to what he designs to do. He will keep a firm and resolute conduct. The method introduced by the Earl of Danby, of buying votes in parliament, succeeded so ill, that it is no longer thought of, and to speak the truth, if it should again be attempted to be put in practice, the same inconveniences would attend it. The King of England wants to do his business by putting the parliament under a necessity of granting him what he is resolved to take, if they do not, that is, the deceased King's revenues." And on the 13th of December 1685, he writes thus:—"The treasurer was also for employing money to gain the votes in parliament. The King of Great Britain was against taking this step,

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having

having formerly known the inconveniences which happened from it; because all those who wanted money or posts distinguished themselves against the court to obtain them."

Barillon's dispatch of the 30th of May 1685, mentions that he had some time before received a remittance of 1,500,000 livres, and that he had told King James it was to be employed in his service if needed. But Barillon's private instructions were not to give it unless in the event of the King's dissolving his parliament, and being obliged to use force against his subjects. For on the 17th of May 1685, Barillon writes thus: "Your Majesty permits me, by your last dispatch, to give all the sum that I may have in my hands, if I see the parliament dissolved, and the King of England reduced to make his subjects submit by force."

It appears from Barillon's dispatch of the 16th of April 1685, that his objects were to get the King to act without parliaments, and separate himself from Holland, and that the lures he threw out were the assistance of France to establish the King's authority and the Roman Catholic religion; that James and Lord Rochester converted these lures into reasons for France's giving an immediate supply of money; but that Sunderland (who probably saw better where France pointed) went farther, and directly proposed an alliance with France, and a total separation from the Prince of Orange and the House of Austria; and that Lord Godolphin in all these matters steered a moderate course. In this dispatch he says he had told James, that the intentions of France were "to assist him to sup-

port his authority, and establish the Catholic religion ; that these things appeared united and inseparable :” That James pressed for money from France saying he could not observe “a firm and high conduct if he was not secured of a supply which could not fail :” And that Lord Rochester, in asking money also from France for his master, used these words : “ That the question at present was, to establish his (*i. e.* the King’s) authority, and give a firm form to government ; that I, the King, sufficiently knew of what importance it was to be in a condition here of giving the law and not receiving it.”

The dispatch then relates the sentiments of Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, as follows :

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Monsf. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Different counsels of Sunderland and Godolphin.

April 16, 1685.

“ **L**ORD Sunderland was directly of opinion, that it was much more proper to take formal and reciprocal engagements ; that the King, his master, ought to court every thing which could ensure him of your Majesty’s friendship. He fixes it for a fundamental principle, that the parliament, the Prince of Orange, and the House of Austria, ought to be considered as having inseparable interests, and that it is impossible to disunite them ; and that therefore to be well with your Majesty, it is necessary not only to refrain from all alliance with them, but even to separate from them with éclat, and take off the mask when it shall be time, that is to say, when the parliament shall have granted the revenues. I kept upon the reserve concerning the new engagements which might be taken ; I contented myself with insinuating the proposition

position which your Majesty ordered me to make on that head, and thought it was better to let it arise as a natural consequence of what was treating, than as an overture on the part of your Majesty. Lord Godolphin talked to me in the same style with Lord Rochester; though he be in the secret, he has no great credit, and thinks only to keep himself in by a wise and moderate conduct. I do not think if his opinion was trusted, that they would enter into engagements with your Majesty to go on entirely without a parliament, and to break totally with the Prince of Orange."

After Monmouth's rebellion was quelled, and the parliament had settled a vast revenue upon James, he still continued, as Barillon relates, to beg a subsidy from France. A dispute between him and France, at this time, shews the minute attention of his genius to money. It was mentioned in Chapter 3d of the Appendix to the Review, that James, when Duke of York, had offered to lend his own money in France, as a mark of his confidence in Louis, and to facilitate a money treaty with his brother, which was then in prospect. Barillon now writes, on the 13th of September 1685, that the Duke's money had been lent out, in Courtin's name, to the Hotel de Ville at Paris; that James was demanding it from Courtin; that Courtin, in accompting for the money, deducted ten or twelve thousand livres because the fund was fallen, but that James insisted the sum lent should be remitted without any deduction. Barillon adds, "The dispute is about ten or twelve thousand livres, more or less. This loss, although moderate, would be looked upon here with chagrin, and as a want of consideration for

his Britannic Majesty." About the same time Barillon received orders from his court, to let James know, that they would give no subsidy at present, because they thought he stood in no need of it. And Barillon writes, on the 25th October 1685, that he had payed in all to James only 800,000 livres.

The remittances from France above-mentioned, did not escape the vigilance of Lord Preston, the King's ambassador at Paris, who had been kept ignorant of them by both courts. Among Lord Preston's letters there is the following one.

Lord Preston to King James.—Advises him of remittances of money from France to England.—Speaks of French parliamentary pensioners in the late reign.

A private advice to the King.

Paris, April 28, S. N. 1685.

In Mr.
Graham's
possession.

"YOUR Majesty may be pleased to remember, that some weeks since I acquainted you with an advice which I had received, that a considerable sum of money was returned from hence into England immediately after the death of the late King ; I am now, Sir, assured of the truth of it, and that it was remitted by the court banquier, Mons. Grusse. I cannot possibly assign the sum to your Majesty, but by conjectures, which are something probable, it should have been about a million of this money, which is about 83 or 84,000 pounds of ours. I know also that one of Mons. Grusse's servants went about that time into England, he being not willing, as is likely, to have trusted such an affair to the ordinary post.

That

That I might have better grounds for what I inform your Majesty of, I have privately informed myself by some banquiers how the exchange went about that time betwixt London and this place, and they all agree, that some weeks after the King's death, the exchange fell considerably, because that the great need which they who remitted the money had of bills, obliged them to take them at any rate. But the remitting was quickly at a stop, and in eight or ten days the exchange mounted to its ordinary train. I will not presume to write my conjectures to your Majesty for what use this money may be designed, and I wish and hope, with all my heart, that my jealousies may be vain. But, perhaps, your Majesty will think fit to have an eye that no practices may be set on foot with our new members of parliament. I hope, however, no great ill of that kind can be done, since, by good fortune, we shall have very few of their old pensioners amongst us."

Soon after this, James renewed the defensive treaty with the Dutch: And Barillon, in his letters of 26th November, and 13th December, 1685, imputes it to France's having refused him the subsidy he asked. In the last of these letters he represents James as extremely out of humour with France on this account, and that he talked of holding the balance of power in his hands.

These things created a coldness for some time between France and James. During this interval James applied to the court of France in defence of the principality of Orange; but Louis and his ministers treated his application with a haughty disregard.

There are the following letters on this subject in King William's cabinet;

Lord

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—The King interposes about the principality of Orange.

‘ I HAVE received the honour of your Highness’s letter of the 30th of January, upon which the King commanded me to write to Sir William Trumball, and I did so, in the following words : “ His Majesty would have you let Mons. de Croissy know, that he cannot think that the answers you have received upon your memorials and instances concerning the proceedings at Orange, are such as he ought to be satisfied with ; and that therefore his Majesty hopes the most Christian King will, upon further consideration, have more regard to the instances his Majesty has made in behalf of the Prince of Orange’s just pretensions.” This the King commanded me to write as being fit, though he does not expect much from it.”

Whitehall, Jan. 26, 1685-6.

Extract of several letters from Sir William Trumball at Paris.—Concerning his application in favour of the principality of Orange.

December 5, 1685.

“ I HAVE communicated the affair of the principality of Orange to the Dutch ambassador, and received an account from him of the several instances he has made from time to time to this court, but without any effect. The same day I entered into that matter with Mons. de Croissy, who told me the most Christian King had sent orders to Monsieur Barillon to speak with his Majesty about it : that he could give me no other answer than what he had often given to the Dutch ambassador and others, which was, that the King acknowledged no sovereignty there ; that although he had left the Prince
of

of Orange for some time in quiet, so long as his conduct might deserve it, yet now having opposed his most Christian Majesty so openly, he did not think fit to keep any longer the same measures, and that all was now done there, his troops being come away. When I urged the treaty of Nimeguen, by which the Prince of Orange was restored to his said principality, with all the rights, &c. in the same condition, and the same manner that he had enjoyed before; and that I desired the most Christian King to consider further, the near alliance between his Majesty and the Prince of Orange obliged his Majesty to interpose in a matter of such consequence; he replied, that he would speak to the King of it, and represent what I had said."

December 12. "As to the affair of Orange, he said, this King could give me no other answer, than to the same purpose he himself had given me before, that all was now done there, and the troops come away; that this King resolving to have but one religion in his country, thought himself obliged, in conscience and justice, to take order for their conversions in that place as he had done in others; which being done, the temporal jurisdiction was left in the same condition that it was before. That he hoped the King, my master, would be satisfied with this answer, and not interpose in a thing wherein he had no interest, but leave this King free to do as he thought fit in his own dominions.

This was the substance of his answer; adding, that the right of sovereignty did not belong to the Prince of Orange, but to the House of Longueville, which the King had taken care to put into a course of trial before a competent judicature, and would be determined in due time."

January 2. "I gave in yesterday several memorials: That concerning the Prince of Orange, Mons. de Croissy
 II seemed

seemed extremely to resent, that his Majesty should again interpose in a matter, which, he said, did not at all concern him."

January 9. "The answer I received yesterday about the principality of Orange is, in all respects, the same I had before, whereof having given your Lordship an account at large, I need not repeat any part of it. The King's troops are come again into that town (as your Lordship will find by the extract I sent the last post), and the ministers still detained in prison, which proceeding is more rigorous than the others received here, all the ministers being ordered to go out of the kingdom, which is what those of Orange desire."

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, February 12th, 1685-6.

"I HAVE acquainted the King with what your Highness was pleased to write me in your letter of the 12th: upon which his Majesty commanded me to send to your Highness a copy of Sir William Trumball's last memorial; and to assure your Highness, that his Majesty has done what he could possibly think fit to do in the affair of Orange, towards your satisfaction, having spoke to the ambassador of the French King here, as warmly as his envoy had order to speak there; and he does now desire to know what your Highness would have done farther, being very intent upon doing all he can.

It is a great mortification to me, that a business which passes through my hands, and that is of so great concern to your Highness, should have such ill success. If any pains or endeavours of mine could contribute to your service, I should think them all well employed, wishing
for

for nothing so much in the world as to be able to let your Highness see how zealously and how truly I am yours."

Extract of a letter from Sir William Trumball to Lord President Sunderland.—On the same subject.—France refuses satisfaction.

Paris, Feb. 17-27, 1685-6.

"**M**ONSIEUR de Croissy continues still indisposed with the gout, and yesterday gave audience in his bed concerning the memorial I had presented about Orange. He told me he had represented it to the King, who continued still in his former resolution, that he acknowledged no sovereignty of Orange to belong to the Prince, and that although, for some reasons, he did forbear to have that right adjudged, yet that it was his incontestably, and that he had no other answer to give me; adding this late occasion of displeasure, by reason of the Prince's refusal to deliver the children of one Mons. Bose (a counsellor of the parliament of Tholouse, and formerly of the protestant religion, but lately changed). Mons. Bose had sent his children thither, intending afterwards to escape himself: But since he made instances by Mons. d'Avaux to have them sent back, which, he said, the Prince denied, and insisted further to keep what money they had brought with them, as a provision and subsistence for them. He told me the King had given orders to stop the Prince's receiving any part of his revenues of Orange, till he had given satisfaction in this matter."

James, however, being bent upon the establishment of popery and of his own power at home, resisted, during his whole reign, the endeavours of the Prince of Orange

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to engage him in measures or alliances hostile to France. The following, among other letters from him to the Prince of Orange, in King William's cabinet, shew how determined he was upon peace with France; and that the only war he approved of was against the Turks.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Desirous of peace in Europe.

Windsor, September 1, 1685.

“ON Saturday last I had yours of the 30th of August and the 3d of September both together; by the first of which, I find, you then had received an account of the good news from Hungary, which was as welcome to me as to any body; and I make no doubt will contribute as much to the peace and quiet of Europe, as the good condition it has pleased God to put my affairs in; and I am sure I will still do my part, that the peace Christendom now enjoys may be continued.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious to preserve peace.

Whitehall, February 2, 1685-6.

“I HAVE had yours of the 5th, in which you say, some, where you are, begin to be alarmed at a voyage the King of France is to make this spring. All that I can say upon it is, that I do not think he will do any thing to disturb the peace of Christendom for several reasons, and his ministers here say it also; and I do what I can to let them see the inconveniences that may happen to their master, should he begin a war, and will still do what is in my power to prevent it.”

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, February 16, 1686.

“ I HAD yours of the 19th by the letters which came on Friday last, but so late that I had not then time to answer it. I see by it, you have still some apprehensions, as if France intended, by themselves, or some of their allies, to interrupt the peace of Christendom; I confess I hardly believe it, I am sure I hope they will not, and they endeavour to persuade me they have peaceable intentions.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is not moved by French encroachments.—Desires only war against the Turk.

Whitehall, October 19, 1686.

“ ALL I shall say upon what you say, as to the affair of Namur and Hunninguen, is, that as to the first, the Spaniards have had a very civil and satisfactory answer to it; so that that is at an end. For the other, I do not think it of such consequence, as to the Germans, as to set all Christendom in a flame, except that they have a mind to fall upon France; and I am still of the same mind I was to do my part, that there may be no war but against the Turk.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 8, 1687.

“ I SUPPOSE you have by this seen the answer the Emperor's envoy in France had to the memorial he gave in to that King, by which you will see the truce

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is not like to be broken, so that the war against the Turk may be still carried on. I shall still do my part to preserve the peace of Christendom."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is desirous to guarantee the twenty years truce.

Whitehall, May 10, 1687.

"I HAVE had yours of the 13th, by which I find, that you in Holland are not alarmed at the King of France's journey to Luxembourg. Those who are jealous of it, will, I am confident, be soon out of their pain. I suppose Mr. Dyckvelt will give you an account of two memorials have been given me, the one by the Count Caunitz, and the other by the Spanish ambassador, both of them to desire me to endeavour to persuade the King of France to let me be guarantee of the truce. You may be sure I will do my part to persuade that King to it, since nothing can contribute more than that to continue the peace in Christendom."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices at success against the Turks.—Intent on the peace of Christendom.

Windsor, September 19, 1687.

"I HAVE had a full account of what has passed in Hungary, and hope by the next letters from thence to hear what advantage the Germans have made of their victory, and that at least they will get good winter-quarters by it. The good success the Venetians have had in the Morea, will, I hope, also have a good effect as to the peace of Christendom, which is what I always so much desire should be continual."

There are in King William's cabinet the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the prosecution of the Duke of Monmouth's adherents.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Calls the Western circuit Jefferys's campaign.

Windfor, September 10, 1685.

“ I HAVE now but little news to tell you, all things being very quiet at present here, though the presbyterian and republican party are still very busy, and have as much mind to rebel again as ever. Lord Chief Justice is making his campaign in the west, and when the parliament meets, some of the peers which are in custody will be tried.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Calls the Western circuit Jefferys's campaign.—Enumerates the detail of severities.

Windfor, September 24, 1685.

“ AS for news there is little stirring, but that Lord Chief Justice has almost done his campaign; he has already condemned several hundreds, some of which are already executed, more are to be, and the others sent to the plantations.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Interests himself for Orange.—Intends to get Saxton pilloried by one trial and banged by another.

Whitehall, January 15, 1686.

“ YOU may easily believe I am sorry Sir William Trumball has had no better an answer to the memorial he gave in concerning the affair of Orange; I shall

shall still continue doing my part in pressing it. Lord Delamer was tried yesterday, and quitted by his peers, he had good luck, as well as just judges, that the only positive witness which came in against him, was proven to have sworn falsely, for though the rest of the evidence against him was only hear-says, yet all the world was satisfied he did design to have risen with Lord Macklesfield and Lord Brandon. As for Saxton, which was the perjured witness against Lord Delamer, I have ordered he shall be first prosecuted for perjury, that he may keep company with Oates, and then after he has stood in the pillory, to be tried for being with the Duke of Monmouth in arms."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the Prince for giving refuge to the rebels in Holland.

Whitehall, March 7, 1686.

"I WOULD not let this bearer return into Holland without writing to you by him, and must need tell you that it does really seem strange to me that so many of the rebels should be connived at Amsterdam, and other towns in Holland, and other of the provinces, and permitted to live so publicly as they do : I have charged the bearer to speak to you more at large upon this affair, which is of great concern to me ; for so long as those rebellious people are permitted to stay there, they will still have the opportunities of corresponding with the disaffected here and stirring them up to sedition, whereas if they were driven out of the seven provinces, they could not be so dangerous. Pray consider of this, and how important it is to me, to have those people destroyed."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Pleased that the rebels are to be expelled from Holland.—Is to make an encampment at Hounslow.

Whitehall, May 7, 1686.

“ I FOUND both yours of the 7th and 10th here, by the last of which I find the States of Holland had agreed to comply with the treaties in banishing out of their provinces those of my rebellious subjects, which have sheltered themselves so long there ; and by what you say make no doubt but that the States General will do the like, and I am sure you will do your part, to have it effectually put in execution, it being a thing of the last consequence for the peace and quiet of my kingdoms to have those turbulent men driven out of the seven provinces, for when once removed from thence, they can do no mischief, though the republican spirit increases every day amongst us here ; but should they be but connived there, they would still be contriving new designs to disturb me, for that restless and rebellious party will never be quiet. I am now preparing to go to Windsor next week, for most of the summer, and on the 20th of this month I am to have twelve battalions of foot encamped on Hounslow-Heath ; as for the horse and dragoons I do not intend to have them there till the middle of next month.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Windsor, May 18, 1686.

“ SINCE I wrote to you by the last post I have had three, the one by the post of the 21st, by which I find the States General had resolved to banish my rebellious subjects out of the seven provinces, and I make no doubt of your doing your part to have it put in execution, since you know of how great concern it is to me to have those seditious people sent away from thence. I

have another letter from you from Captain Steuart of an older date, and one from you also by M. General Mackay, with whom I have spoken fully with, upon all the several heads you charged him to speak with me of, and do assure you that I easily believe all he has said to me from you, and you need not fear that it is in any body's power to do you ill offices with me."

In the De-
pot.

Barillon, in his dispatch of the 26th of July 1685, says that he saw the Duke of Monmouth pass through the apartments of the palace to his interview with the King; that his arms were tied behind with a silken cord, but his hands free; that none but the two secretaries of state were present at the interview; and in his letter of the 30th of July, that the Duke gave no information against the Prince of Orange.

Barillon says, that the Duke in the Tower desired to see his Dutchess, that she refused unless Lord Clarendon should be present, and that when she went, the conversation was "*aigre de part et d' autre*," "bitter both on the one side and the other."

In the De-
pot.

In the Memoirs to which the present papers are an appendix, there is an anecdote related upon tradition of King James's having paid a visit to the Dutchess of Monmouth on the morning of her husband's execution, and left with her a grant of his forfeiture. Barillon's dispatch of the 17th of June 1686, confirms one part of the story. It contains these words, "*Touts les biens de M. le Duc de Monmouth en Ecoffe et en Angleterre lui (i. e. the Dutchess) ont été rendu.*" "All the Duke of Monmouth's estate in Scotland and England has been restored to his Dutchess."

B O O K III.

*PROSPEROUS Condition and Schemes of James.—
His Speech to the second Session of Parliament.—
Parliament roused.—Address of the Commons.—
The King's Answer.—The Lords prepare to imitate
the Commons.—Parliament prorogued.—Similar
Proceedings in Scottish Parliament.—It is prorogued.
—Incampment on Hounslow-beath.*

EVERY thing now seemed to promise a reign of security to James. They who had beheld the first glorious and regular efforts of liberty against Charles the First, were long ago dead. The survivors among the old had only seen the private ambition and anarchy which immediately succeeded. Shaftsbury, Russel, Essex, Sidney, were no more; new characters had not arisen to assume their places; and the spirit of parliamentary opposition in England seemed to have been buried in their graves. The attempt of Monmouth, at the same time that it freed James from a rival, strengthened, like other unsuccessful rebellions, that power which it was meant to overturn. The Prince of Orange was thought to be fully occupied * with the internal divisions of Holland, and the opposition which Louis the XIVth raised against him in his own country. Scotland was more quiet than it had been for a thousand years before. One part of Ireland was submissive to the laws, and the rest of it attached to

PART I.
BOOK III.
1685.

Prosperous
state of
James.

* D'Avaux, vol. 4.

PART I.
BOOK III.

1685.

the interests of James by the ties of common religion. He was at peace with all his neighbours, and respected by them. At home, one party favoured him, another courted him, both dreaded him; and he possessed, what no King of England, from the time of the two first Norman Princes, had done, a great revenue independent of parliament, and a strong army depending on himself only.

Drunk, in a manner, with prosperity, the King indulged the most extravagant schemes of ambition against his subjects. Even amidst the dangers of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, he had expressed his satisfaction at it to Barillon, "because," he said, "it would give him an opportunity of making himself master of his country." And he now formed a design of abolishing the militia for ever, substituting a standing army in its stead, and of getting the Habeas Corpus law abolished, that he might be completely master of the persons of his subjects. He flattered himself likewise with the vain idea, that by keeping a fleet always ready manned, he might convert even the seamen into instruments of his power. He boasted in public, that he was in love with bold and decisive strokes of authority, and received well the compliments of those who flattered him on that head. Insolence and meanness go continually together: While James was thus preparing to trample upon his generous subjects, he was fawning upon the natural enemy of their country. "I was brought up," said he to Barillon, "in France: I have eat of your master's bread, and my heart is French." Lord Rochester and Lord Godolphin, who in the beginning of his reign flattered him with ideas of independence upon parliament, now perceiving that they had gone too far, strove in vain to repair the mischief they had done *.

* Vid. Appendix.

The first of his designs which he attempted to carry into execution was that of obtaining the sanction of parliament for the support of a standing army, and for enabling popish officers to serve without being obliged to take the tests against popery. But resolute in his purpose, although he should not obtain the consent of parliament to it, he scorned to court the members, or to allow the common ministerial influence to be used with them.

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His speech to the parliament, which re-assembled after the suppression of the rebellion, was therefore in a higher tone than he had hitherto assumed. He said, the last rebellion had shown, that a standing army, not the militia, afforded the only solid defence against invasions; that on this account, he had considerably increased his army; that the expence of maintaining it was proportionably increased; and therefore, that an adequate supply was necessary for maintaining it. He continued in the following words: "Let no man take exception, because there are some officers not qualified for their employments, according to the late test. Most of these gentlemen, I must tell you, are well known to me; and having formerly served with me on several occasions, and always proved the loyalty of their principles by their practice; I think it fit, now, that they should be employed under me: And I will deal plainly with you, that, after having had the benefit of their service in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, in case any new rebellion should make them necessary for me." He concluded with warning his parliament against fears and jealousies; an argument which raised both, because it betrayed a consciousness that he either deserved or expected them.

His speech
to the second session
of parliament.
Nov. 9.

This speech mentioned no other business; and therefore the attention of those to whom it was addressed, became

Parliament
closed,

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so much the more roused and fixed. Many were yet alive who had seen the subjection under which Cromwell had kept the nation by means of a standing army. Complaints of the growth of popery were become almost habitual against the princes of the Stuart family. And men remembered, with fondness, the expression of Lord Nottingham, when the test-act was passed in the late reign, that "now the doors were for ever shut against popery in England." In an instant, therefore, that parliament, which had hitherto appeared to have no will but the will of its sovereign, became animated with a spirit resembling that of their predecessors in the four late parliaments. The commons, upon their return from the royal presence to their own house, perceiving, in each other's looks, the consciousness of what they had not time to communicate in words *, instead of giving thanks immediately for the King's speech, though a motion was made for that purpose, put off the consideration of the speech for three days, and in the mean time adjourned. When they met again †, they indeed voted a supply, but left the extent of it undetermined until they should receive satisfaction with regard to the tests; and with a view to obviate the King's complaints of the militia, they ordered a bill for rendering it more useful. Next day, when they were urged to ascertain the extent of the supply, they resolved by a vote of 183 to 182, to proceed previously to the consideration of that part of the speech which related to the King's power of dispensing with the tests; and then agreed upon an address to the King in the following words: "As to that part of your Majesty's speech relating to the officers in the army not qualified for their employments, we do, out of our bounden duty, humbly represent unto your Majesty, that these officers cannot by law be capable of their employments, and

Nov. 12.

Address of
commons.

* Journ. house of commons, Nov. 9.

† Ibid. Nov. 12, 13.

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“ that the incapacities they bring upon themselves can in
 “ no way be taken off but by an act of parliament :
 “ Therefore, out of that great reverence and duty we
 “ owe unto your Majesty, who have been graciously
 “ pleased to take notice of their services, we are preparing
 “ a bill to pass both houses, for your royal assent, to in-
 “ demnify them from the penalties they have now incur-
 “ red : And, because the continuing them in their em-
 “ ployments may be taken to be a dispensing with that
 “ law, without an act of parliament, the consequence of
 “ which is of the greatest concern to the rights of all
 “ your Majesty’s subjects, and to all the laws made for
 “ the security of their religion : We, therefore, the
 “ knights, citizens, and burgesses, of your Majesty’s
 “ House of Commons, do most humbly beseech
 “ your Majesty, that you would be most graciously
 “ pleased to give such directions therein, that no appre-
 “ hensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your
 “ Majesty’s most loyal subjects.” Words apparently
 smooth and decent, but which meant more than they
 seemed to express. In order to give this resolution
 more weight, the country-party moved to ask the con-
 currence of the Lords : But many of their friends,
 thinking the victory sufficient, or not trusting to a house,
 which, during a century past, had been always attached to
 the crown, opposed the motion ; and it was rejected by a
 vote of 212 to 138*.

The commons then proceeded to the consideration of
 the supply. The court, by the mouth of Sir John Ern-
 ley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, asked 1,200,000 *l.*
 for the support of the new-raised forces, during the term
 of five years. Some of the country party proposed to
 give 200,000 *l.* But the more moderate of both sides,
 judging that the former proposal gave a parliamentary

* Journ, house of commons, Nov. 16.

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The King's
answer.

sanction to a standing army, and that the latter implied an affront to the King, chose rather to give 700,000 *l.* at once, without mentioning the particular service for which it was intended.

The commons, two days after, carried their address in a body to the King. With a violence of gesture, and voice, and look, not usual to him, he made the following answer: "Gentlemen, I did not expect such an address from the House of Commons: For, having so lately recommended to your consideration the great advantages a good understanding between us had produced in a very short time, and given you warning of fears and jealousies amongst ourselves, I had reason to hope, that the reputation God had blessed me with in the world would have created and confirmed a greater confidence in you of me, and of all that I say to you. But, however you proceed on your part, I will be steady in all my promises I have made to you, and be just to my word in this, and all my other speeches."

Next day, when the Speaker read this answer to the House, there ensued a long and deep silence: A pause more expressive of displeasure than the most animated complaints. But, after some time, the members having recovered themselves, Mr. Wharton, afterwards Lord Wharton, moved for a day to take this answer into consideration. Mr. Cook, a country-gentleman of large fortune, seconded him, using these words: "I hope we are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of our duty by a few hard words." The court opposed the motion: The house warmed: Lord Preston having written down Mr. Cook's words as he spoke them, moved to send him to the tower. Mr. Cook's party did not venture to protect him: Neither did they put the motion for considering the King's answer to a vote*: The

* Journ. house of commons, Nov. 18.

house discovering in these things, as in the general train of their behaviour, a mixture of firmness, and of fear of the King; a behaviour not to be wondered at in men, many of whom reflected, that they had formerly opposed his right of succeeding to the crown.

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1685.

The House of Lords discovered the same mixed conduct, with a little more civility: Without adjourning, as the Commons had done, to consider the King's speech, they returned thanks for it* the same day it was made. A sarcasm of Lord Devonshire, which was mistaken for an expression of sincerity, contributed to this: For he said, "That thanks were due to the King, for discovering his intentions so plainly." But, after the spirit of the Commons had disclosed itself, Compton, Bishop of London, brother to the Earl of Northampton, moved for a day to take the King's speech into consideration, and hinted, that he did so in the name of his brethren. He was supported by the Lords Nottingham, Mordaunt, and Halifax; the last of whom had quitted the King's service, when pressed to concur in his schemes about religion. Jeffreys opposed the motion with his usual insolence; was checked, and sunk under correction: It was a new spectacle in England, to see the Bishops opposing the King's will, and Jeffreys making apologies. The Bishop of London's motion prevailed.

Lords prepare to imitate the Commons.

But James stopped the effect of this motion: For, in a few days, he prorogued the parliament, after it had sate eleven days only; and never assembled it again; a prorogation which discovered to the nation, how independent he esteemed himself to be, when he could so easily consent to lose 700,000 *l.* voted, but not provided for, by the House of Commons. Soon after, he dismissed many of his servants and officers, who had voted against his mea-

Parliament prorogued.

* Lords Journals, Nov. 9.

asures;

PART I. fures ; and struck the name of Compton from the council
BOOK III. book *.

1685.

Similar proceedings in the Scottish parliament.

From the Scotch parliament greater compliance was expected : James, in his letter, recommended to that assembly, “ his innocent Roman Catholic subjects, who lay under discouragements hardly to be named ;” and desired, “ they might not be suffered to lie under obligations which their religion could not admit ;” guarded words, but which marked, that he wanted the penal laws and the tests provided against Roman Catholics to be repealed. The Lord Commissioner Murray, after promising the Scotch an indemnity, together with a variety of other national favours, in point of commerce with England, France, the Netherlands, Ireland, and their own country, informed the parliament, that the King wanted no supply, and only desired, in return for so many favours, “ That they would give ease and security to some of his good subjects of the Roman Catholic religion.” Words which the parliament pretended not to understand. But, when two of the Bishops, Ross and Patterson, proposed a repeal of the test against Roman Catholics, the parliament, which had been so lukewarm the year before in the case of liberty, fired at the name of religion. Present pride, and a desire to wipe off ancient dishonour, stimulated them still more. For they repeated to each other, “ That by refusing to sell their God, they ought to wipe off the reproach of having sold their King.” All that could be obtained was leave to prepare a bill to indulge Papists in the private exercise of their religion : And, when the bill was brought into the House, the opposition to it was so violent, that Murray received orders to prorogue the parliament. It shared the same fate with that of England, and met no more. After

Scottish parliament prorogued.

* Books of Privy Council, December 23, 1685.

the prorogation, Paterson was made Archbishop of Glasgow; and some of the opposing Bishops were, in virtue of the King's power of supremacy, removed from their sees. The degree to which the passions of men were heated, by the King's asking favour for Roman Catholics, had made the protestant dissenters overlook that he had asked none for them, although they likewise were suffering as nonconformists. When this was recollected, their displeasure with their own inattention renewed, and increased their displeasure with the King.

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BOOK III.
1685.

After the prorogation of the parliaments of England and Scotland, James was the only Prince who, from the time of William the Conqueror, took the only measure which can put it in the power of a King of England to reign independent of parliaments. He established and regulated a perpetual encampment of 12,000 men on Hounslow-heath, under the pretence, common to Princes, of discipline and national defence; but, in reality, in hopes that the soldiers, from the view of their own numbers and strength, might acquire confidence in themselves, and take it from the rest of their fellow-subjects: A dangerous engine of government, which generally subjects the people to the Prince, and the Prince to itself. He caressed the officers; he flattered the soldiers: In the plenitude of his joy, he could not refrain from carrying the Queen and the Princess frequently to dine in the camp, and from descānting * in his letters to the Prince of Orange upon the beauty of his troops, perhaps not without a secret pleasure from the reflection, that his exultation could give no great pleasure to the Prince.

Encampment at Hounslow-heath.

* Vide Appendix.

B O O K IV.

*SUNDERLAND's Promotion. — Cabal of Seven, and its Plans. — Dispensing Power asserted. — Roman Catholics brought into Offices. — Scotland new-modelled. — And Ireland. — Letters Mandatory. — Sharpe's Trial. — Sunderland's Intrigues to remove Rochester and Clarendon. — Sunderland's Ambition disappointed. — Attempts upon the Possessions of the Church. — Declaration of Indulgence. — Attempt to divide the Church and Dissenters. — The King deceived by Ad-
dresses. — His Ideas of Government. — Attempt upon Magdalene College. — Bishops Petition, and Consequences of it. — Dispositions of the Army. — Of the People. — Birth of the Prince of Wales.*

PART I.
BOOK IV.

1686.

Sunderland
promoted.

THE prorogation of the English Parliament was succeeded by the further promotion of Sunderland; a promotion which proved fatal to him who bestowed it. Having privately embraced his master's religion, he was appointed President of the Council, continued Secretary of State, received the Garter, and became his first favourite: A man of clear views, of quick decision, of infinite insinuation; who was successively the favourite of three Princes, though of the most opposite characters. He

adopted all the partiality of James in favour of Roman Catholics ; upon the principles of toleration, of equality, and of the right which, by the law of nature, the Sovereign has to the service of all his subjects, supporting measures upon the reasonings of political wisdom, which James adopted only from zeal for religion * ; and forming into regular plans for execution those ideas which the other was not able to combine. By those means he hoped to continue an absolute minister of an absolute monarch, if the nation should yield to the King ; or to assume merit with the Prince of Orange, from having urged James to his ruin, if the nation should rise up against him. The difficulties too in which his expensive way of living continually involved him, made him hope to repair his fortunes in times of innovation and danger. There is good reason to believe, that he enjoyed pensions from the Prince of Orange, Louis the XIVth, and James, all at one time ; pretending to each of those Princes, a separate attention to his interest †.

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BOOK IV.

1686
and 1687.

Sunderland knew well the embarrassment he was to expect from Lord Rochester. He therefore complained to James, that Rochester's zeal for the church of England would disappoint all projects in favour of the Roman Catholic religion which were debated in council ; and persuaded him to appoint privately a select council for concerting all measures to be taken which regarded the interests of that religion. The cabal consisted of seven persons : The King, Lord Sunderland, Father Petre, a Jesuit, Confessor to the Queen, a man of noble birth, but puffed up with a vanity and ambition which gave Sunderland an easy hold of him, and the Lords Bellasis,

Cabal of
seven.—Its
plans.

* There are several of his letters in the paper-office, to persons abroad, concerning the interests of the Roman Catholic religion in England.

† After the revolution, Louis the XIVth told James, that Lord Sunderland had a pension from him ; and that Sunderland had made him believe that it was by his master's permission he took it.

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and 1687.

April.

Dispensing
power as-
serted.

Powis, Arundel, and Dover, Roman Catholics. The place of its meeting was sometimes at Sunderland's house, and at other times in Chiffinch's lodgings at Whitehall. Sunderland, soon after, under pretence that all public affairs were so much connected with those of religion that the two could not be separated, got most of the interests of state committed likewise to this private council. The objects of the cabal were, to procure a free admission of Roman Catholics into offices, notwithstanding the tests; and a toleration for their religion, by a suppression of the other penal laws against it. By these means, but chiefly by the distribution of offices, when the tests were removed, James flattered himself, that he should insensibly draw his subjects over to his religion, without the aid of persecution. In their original plans, it was agreed, from a regard to the loyalty of the church of England, that no intrusions should be made into her dignities or possessions: A resolution, however, that was not afterwards adhered to. But a commission, which erected an ecclesiastical commission-court, with powers to punish offences in the clergy, was privately prepared, in order to be opened, if the King's scheme of confounding the distinction between Protestants and Papists should meet with opposition.

In bringing Roman Catholics into office without taking the tests, James had hitherto endeavoured to get the sanction of parliament on his side; and in one of his kingdoms, he had aimed at giving protection only to military officers. But, after the establishment of this cabal, he was put in mind of the dispensing power of the crown. It was said, "His brother had twice asserted it to procure
" a toleration for his Roman Catholic subjects, and must
" have succeeded, had he not communicated his inten-
" tions to parliaments, and, by that means, given them
" a title to interpose in a branch of prerogative which
" was inherent in the crown, and independent of them.

"He

“ He might now exert the same power to secure a participation of offices to his Roman Catholic subjects, and, by avoiding his brother’s error, avoid his defeats.”

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and 1687.

The scheme of dispensing with the tests had been first suggested by Lord Chief Justice Herbert, in the end of the late reign; and when Jeffreys was consulted upon it, he confirmed the opinion of Herbert. Charles, however, was afraid to make the experiment. But his successor, who had severely felt the effects of party in parliament in the former part of his life, and who imputed likewise to party the late opposition to his will in the parliaments of England and Scotland, grasped eagerly at the use which he saw might be made of the instrument held forth to him. In order, therefore, to get the law on his side, he founded the judges: Four of them were found refractory; and two of these, Jones and Montague, were heads of courts. It is reported, that the King said to Jones, “ He would have twelve judges of his own opinion;” and that Jones answered, “ Twelve judges April 27, “ you may possibly find, Sir, but hardly twelve lawyers.” James, thinking that this demur proceeded likewise from the infection of party, removed these four, and placed others more pliant in their seats. A suit was brought against Colonel Hales, a Roman Catholic, at the instance of his coachman, for not taking the test against popery. The Colonel defended himself, by pleading a dispensation from the King. The question was the most important and the most delicate that ever was tried in a court of justice; because the event of it was, to determine whether the constitution of England was, in future ages, to be accounted a limited or an absolute monarchy; and because, on the part of the King, were produced ancient precedents, with the opinions of former lawyers; and in opposition to these, stood the proceedings * of par-

* State Trials, vol. 2. p. 800.

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and 1687.

liaments in the late reign, and the alterations in the nature of the constitution, and in the opinions of men, which at all times have influence upon laws, in spite of the laws themselves. Lord Chief Justice Herbert gave judgment in favour of the defendant; and upon a solemn argument and judgment of the twelve judges, all, except one †, acquiesced in his opinion. This judgment resounded through all parts of England; drew down imprecations upon the judges; confirmed a want of reverence for the laws, one of the worst evils which can befall a nation governed by them; and, cherishing the hopes of a few, filled the rest of the King's subjects with dejection and fears. A saying of Lord Justice Hales was everywhere repeated: "That the twelve red coats in Westminster-hall were able to do more mischief to the nation, than as many thousands in the field." Those who could not judge of law-arguments, were able enough to perceive, that a dispensing, a suspending, and a repealing power, were the same; and that, if the King could break through one law, he might break through all.

Applica-
tions for
repeal of
the tests,

After obtaining this judgment, James applied personally to a great number of the members of parliament, to consent to a parliamentary repeal of the tests: The Judges received orders to make the same applications in their circuits: Practices † which first brought the term *Closeting* into the English language. Both were equally unsuccessful. For a sense of honour, and the dread of that reproach which all the new converts incurred from the public, kept many firm to the profession of their religion, whose principles were otherwise loose. Two eminent instances of this appeared in Admiral Herbert and Colonel Kirk. Herbert, though a professed libertine,

* Judge Street.

† Reresby, 239. et passim. Lord Sunderland's apology.

and a man of unbounded expence, resigned the lucrative offices of Vice Admiral and Master of the Robes, rather than comply with his master's intreaties for the repeal of the tests; and, when Kirk was urged by the King to turn Catholic, he excused himself, by saying, "He had given a promise to the Emperor of Morocco, that, if he ever changed his religion, he would become a Mussulman."

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and 1687.

Most of those who refused their assent to the repeal of the tests, among whom were many of the highest rank, and of the King's firmest friends *, were removed from the civil or military offices which they held; and Roman Catholics, with dispensations, generally put into their places. Several professed Papists were appointed judges, and others brought to the council-board, particularly the Lords Bellasis, Powis, Arundel, Dover, and Tyrconnel. They were likewise introduced into all the inferior departments of government. They were made sheriffs, justices of the peace †; the government of corporations, the lieutenancies of counties, were put into their hands: The measures of the late King, in new-modelling corporations, by means of writs of *quo warranto*, were renewed, and the new magistrates were composed indiscriminately of Catholics and Protestants.

Roman Catholics brought into offices.

In Scotland, similar measures were pursued: The Chancellor Perth, with the Lords Tarbet and Balcarras ‡, received private instructions to solicit the judges, and the officers of state and of the army, to contribute to the repeal of the tests. The King wrote letters with his own hand to the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensberry to obtain their consent to the repeal of the tests §. Queensberry refused: Hamilton did what was equivalent; for he desired time to consider.

Scotland new-modelled.

* Reresby 243. 256. et passim. † Books of privy-council, December 17. Reresby passim. ‡ Balcarras, 15. § Vide Appendix.

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and 1687.

The commissions of the judges, which were for life, were changed*, and made to continue during pleasure only. As the tradesmen and mechanics were the most averse of any from the forms of popery, the common-councils of almost all the boroughs † were altered by the hand of sovereign power, without either sentence or surrender. The tory-ministry, which the King, when Duke of York, had appointed at the end of his brother's reign, was dismissed; and a new one formed, which consisted partly of Roman Catholics, and partly of nonconformists. The chief power was committed to Lord Murray a weak, Chancellor Perth a timid, the Chancellor's brother Lord Mellfort, an unpopular man, all of whom were Roman Catholics. To these was joined Sir John Dalrymple, son to Lord Stair. This last minister had seen his father ruined by the King, when Duke of York; and had himself, upon account of his lenity to nonconformists, been confined ‡ for many months in a common jail by the same Prince: Yet he was now appointed Lord Advocate, and Lord Justice Clerk, offices at that time of great political power, and a Privy Counsellor. These preferments were bestowed upon him by the advice of Sunderland, who suggested that by his means an union between the Presbyterian and Popish parties in Scotland might be effectuated. Capricious favours, after capricious punishments, are insults: Sir John Dalrymple came into the King's service resolved to take vengeance if ever it should offer: Impenetrable in his designs, but open, prompt, and daring in execution, he acted in perfect confidence with Sunderland, to whom he was inferior in nothing, and superior in eloquence. Stuart, who had been driven from Scotland by the Duke of York, had been engaged in the Ryehouse-plot, and had assisted

* Claim of right.

† Ibid.

‡ Lord Stair's Apology.

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and 1687.

Monmouth in his attempt, was pardoned for all his treasons, and, as secretary to Lord Mellfort, who was Secretary of State for Scotland *, was intrusted with all the secrets of government in that kingdom. His office obliging him to draw the state-papers, he filled them with high strains of the absolute power of the King, either from the affectation of loyalty natural to a new convert, or, by a refinement of revenge, to throw odium upon the sovereign he had formerly opposed. Several of the whig and dissenting party were brought into employments; a number sufficient to disoblige the royalists, but not sufficient to satisfy their own party. The very first orders from Mellfort's office at London, to this new administration, were calculated to make James unpopular: All who were in public station were commanded to surrender their commissions, and take out new ones, without complying with the tests; and immediately after, they were commanded to take out pardons, for having transgressed the laws by their obedience. But Mellfort and Stuart had large fees for issuing the commissions and the pardons †.

While James was in this manner alternately encouraged or disappointed in his projects in favour of popery by his British subjects, his successes in Ireland, a country already full of Catholics, and long subjected to the government of England, gave him hopes unallayed with any uneasiness. The surest marks of the spirit of a government are to be found in the administration of its provinces. The custody of arms in Ireland was by law intrusted to Protestants only. These had been taken from them during Monmouth's rebellion, by orders of Lord Tyrconnel the General, under pretence that the Protestants were, in general, well disposed to Monmouth's cause;

And Ire-
land.

* Lord Balcarras.

† Ibid.

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and 1687.

and the arms were laid up in magazines: Some, however, still remaining in the hands of private persons in some of the Protestant counties, Clarendon now received orders to call in these likewise. All corporations and offices of every kind, from the highest to the lowest, were thrown open to Roman Catholics, and some branches of government were engrossed almost entirely by them. The general language of office was to speak with contempt of all Protestants. In order to maintain a superiority in the privy-council, the Roman Catholic puisne judges, and even some private practising lawyers, were introduced into it: Honours which they themselves were ashamed of, because they were conscious that men of their order had never enjoyed them before. A regular Popish hierarchy was established: The Bishops received orders to wear the habits of their order in public: Revenues were assigned to them, and a pension of above 2000*l.* a-year was ordered to the Primate, from the rents of the Protestant bishoprics, which, for these purposes, were kept vacant. The modelling of the army was committed to Lord Tyrconnel: He cashiered above four thousand Protestant soldiers, and above three hundred Protestant officers, many of whom had bought their commissions, and others shed their blood in the cause of the crown. The dismissal of the soldiers made the greater impression, because their clothes having been taken from them when they were broke, they wandered half naked through every part of the kingdom. The places of both were filled up chiefly with natives of Ireland of the Popish religion, and with many whose fathers had lost their estates for their rebellion. Most of the disbanded officers retired into Holland, carrying with them complaints of their own and their country's wrongs, were provided for by the Prince of Orange, and afterwards attended him, at the revolution, to England. New

arms

arms in new hands were made use of as might have been expected : The soldiers harassed the inhabitants, and lived upon them at free quarter. Tyrconnel, instead of punishing those offences, encouraged them. Many of the officers boasted, that, now they had got arms in their hands, they would soon have their estates again in their possession. Rumours of insurrections ran everywhere : These were increased by dissensions, arising from affront and competition between the disbanded soldiers and the new ones. The English settled in Ireland remembered the massacre of their ancestors, and fled in numbers from a country which they thought doomed to misery in every age. Provoked by this situation of their country, the Protestant privy-counsellors quitted the council, and left Tyrconnel to do what he pleased. It would be hard to impute all these violences to James : They cannot even be imputed to those who shared his confidence : His Popish privy-counsellors in England opposed some of the violent projects of Tyrconnel : For, among other extravagances, Tyrconnel having sent over Lord Chief Justice Nugent, and Lord Chief Baron Rice, to solicit at court the repeal of the act of settlement, and the populace having followed their coaches wherever they went, with potatoes fastened to sticks, calling out, " Make way
 " for the Irish ambassadors ;" Lord Bellasis said aloud,
 " That fellow, Dick Talbot, is madman enough to ruin
 " ten kingdoms." It often happens, that officers of government, who know its general intentions, carry the particular execution to excess, in order to enhance their own merit, though at the expence of those who employ them. James's apology for the dismissal of the officers, was, that he gave orders to Tyrconnel to dismiss only those who, or whose fathers, had served under Cromwell ; but that Tyrconnel exceeded his orders. By the prudence of Clarendon, however, all James's regulations were sub-

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and 1687.
The church
roused.

mitted to ; and no insurrections were made in that kingdom *.

The noise of those innovations in Ireland filled England with alarms, as it is natural for the human mind to dread most those evils which it hears of, but sees not. The church of England was first roused. She who had preserved James's right of succession, and who had so long preached to the laity the doctrine of passive obedience, in favour of the Princes of his family, now overlooked her own principles, when she saw the interests of religion openly invaded. The timid and weak vented privately their discontents in complaints against the ingratitude of James : But the bolder and more manly warned the people in public, and made the pulpits resound with their sermons against the approaches and the consequences of popery. In proportion as any preacher was remarkable for his reasoning, his eloquence, or his character, he exerted himself in this cause. Many of the clergy in higher ranks, either animated the preachers, or, by an affected but not mysterious silence, gave them an opportunity of assuming merit from a boldness which it was insinuated their superiors could not shew, without bringing danger upon the order.

Letters
mandatory.

The effects of these exertions of the clergy were soon felt. The people were touched : The discontent began to spread : James saw it, and was alarmed : He recollected the effects of popular preaching upon the quiet of some of his predecessors. He was provoked too, because he had formed his expectations of the behaviour of the church upon the Oxford decree, the doctrines of the church herself, and the addresses of the nation : And therefore he resolved to stop the flame in its progress, by issuing letters mandatory to the Bishops, which prohibited the clergy to

March 15.
July 17.

* Ralph, with the authorities which he quotes. Clarendon's letters, lately published, present a lively picture of the fatal schemes of James and Tyrconnel, in Ireland.

preach upon points of controversy; and by promulgating* the court of ecclesiastical commission for trying and punishing the offences of the clergy in the exercise of their duty. This commission was an engine of authority the more important, on account of the extraordinary words in which it was expressed: For it gave a power to punish † even “those who *seemed* to be suspected of offences;” and to “*correct, amend, and alter* the statutes of the universities, churches, and schools; or, where the statutes “were lost, to devise new ones;” and these powers were declared to be effectual, “notwithstanding any law “or statute to the contrary.” The court consisted of Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, Crew Bishop of Durham, and Sprat of Rochester, the Lords Rochester, Sunderland, and Jeffreys, and Lord Chief Justice Herbert. The greater terrors attended it, because it could not sit, unless when Jeffreys was present. It was known privately that Sancroft, from respect to the church, would not act; which gave an opportunity of putting the Bishop of Chester, a prelate less scrupulous, in his place. It was expected, that Lord Rochester, from respect to the King, would not oppose his will in the new court. And the King was certain of the compliance of the rest. As the ecclesiastical high commission-court had been abolished in the reign of Charles the First, by a statute which prohibited the erection of any such court for the future, the legality of this court was, by most people, called in question. But, in a kingdom where the rights of men, and the boundaries of courts, were so well ascertained, James was obliged either to lay hold of expedients, whose legality was doubtful, or to submit to the laws.

The institution of this court struck the clergy with awe. They waited with anxiety to see on whose head

Sharp's
trial.

* Books of privy-council, 17 July.

† State Trials, vol. 3. p. 693.

May 14.

the storm should first break ; most hoping it would fall on his neighbour ; and a few, from a desire to assume merit from their sufferings, wishing that it might fall upon themselves. By mutual exhortations and assurances, they endeavoured to fortify each other ; and, as often happens in such cases, the most timid became the most clamorous, and those of the most fortitude were the most modest. It was not long before the new court found objects of its jurisdiction. Doctor Sharp, in the pulpit, inveighing against the arguments in favour of popery, had expressed a contempt of those who could be converted by them. This was explained at court into a reflection against many of the King's courtiers, who had become converts to that religion, and even against the King himself. James was not displeased to find that Sharp was under the jurisdiction of the obnoxious Compton Bishop of London, and issued a mandate * to the Bishop to suspend him. Compton, being a man who derived pride from his noble blood, and temper from an order whose genuine spirit is meekness, resolved not to obey, but to act such a part as should expose the King, and save himself. He wrote a letter to Lord Sunderland, desiring it should be communicated to the King. In this letter he said, " That the
 " only power he had over Sharp, was as his judge ; and
 " that he could not in that capacity condemn him, without the forms of law." He added, " Sharp was so
 " willing to give his Majesty all reasonable satisfaction,
 " that he had made him the bearer of the letter." No answer being returned, and Sharp not admitted, the Bishop perceived that James had taken his resolution. In order, therefore, to make severity inexcusable, he desired Sharp to desist, for some time, from preaching ; and he prevailed upon him to write a petition to the King, in which he expressed sorrow that his words had given occa-

* State Trials, vol. 3. p. 695.

sion for constructions that were offensive, and promised to be more guarded for the future. Intercessions were in vain : Sharp was but a name : Compton was the person aimed at : His humiliation had been resolved upon. He was cited to appear before the new commission-court. The only form of his prosecution was the following question, put to him by Jeffreys, president of the court : “ What was the reason of his not having suspended Doctor Sharp, according to the King’s express command, for preaching seditiously against the government ? ” The Bishop argued, “ The court before which he now appeared, was not legal : He was subject to his metropolitan and suffragans alone : He was a Prelate of England, a Lord of parliament, and could be tried only by the laws of his country. It was not in his power, as a judge, to have condemned Sharp, not cited, unheard, undefended, untried. What he could do, he had done ; for he had enjoined Sharp to desist from preaching : But, if this excuse appeared not sufficient in the eyes of his sovereign, he was still willing to make reparation, and to beg his pardon.” The submission contained in the last part of these words created embarrassment in the court : Lord Rochester and the Bishop of Rochester proposed to accept the Bishop’s submission ; but at last yielded to their associates, who were of opinion, that he should be suspended during the King’s pleasure. In the course of the trial, the Princess of Orange, whose marriage-ceremony Compton had performed, wrote to the King her father in his favour. James reprimanded her for meddling in his affairs.

Sept. 26.

In the mean time, Sunderland took advantage of James’s intemperate zeal for his religion, to create a breach which he had probably meditated long between that Prince and his brothers-in-law. He was the more pressed too to attempt it at this time, because, having given a promise to

Sunderland’s intrigues to remove Rochester.

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and 1687.

Tyrconnel to get him appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on a condition of receiving 5000*l.* a-year from Tyrconnel from the revenues of it, that Lord, who was equally furious in private as in public, now threatened to inform the King of the bargain, if the promise was not kept. Sunderland pretended to James, that he had reason to believe Rochester would change his religion, if he was urged to it; and that his apparent reluctance proceeded partly from the meanness which he was afraid would seem to attend his yielding without conviction, and partly from a desire to enhance the value of his yielding at last. And he advised James to ask Rochester to be present at a conference and argument between protestant and popish divines, as the first step to his conversion. The King credulously made the proposal to Rochester, who, being off his guard, received it with signs of aversion and contempt, the consequences of which he did not attend to at the time. Kings have passions as well as their subjects: James fired: Rochester stood firm: They parted with minds irritated against each other: Sentiments which sunk so much the deeper, because the one had expressed too strongly, and the other had not dared to express what he felt. Rochester having imparted this adventure to a few of his friends, they agreed in opinion, that his disgrace was determined; that the King had chosen this way to finish a want of confidence with which, for many months, he had behaved to him; and that it now only remained for him to secure an interest with the people. Rochester, therefore, with all speed, made his apology to the King, pretended he had altered his mind, and agreed to be present at a conference of divines. All eyes and ears were intent upon the consequence of this conference; some pitying Rochester for being obliged to submit to it; and others inveighing that he had only taken a more refined way than others to pay a compliment, at the expence of his

his own honour, to the King. But Rochester soon relieved the public of its suspense: The conference was hardly begun, when he declared, that the popish arguments had only served to confirm him in the truth of the protestant religion; and then took care it should be spread abroad, that he had incurred the King's indignation for the sentiments he had expressed at the conference. The treasurer's staff was soon after taken from him*.

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It was a more easy matter to bring about the removal of Clarendon: Sunderland had taken care to get a standing president appointed to the privy-council of Ireland, in place of the Lord Lieutenant, and powers over the army bestowed upon Tyrconnel the general, independent of this last great officer: Two novelties intended to mortify Clarendon, at the same time that they lessened his power. Innumerable other slights were put upon him. Tyrconnel, by his violence and officiousness, distracted his government†; and then made complaints to the King of the embarrassments which himself had occasioned. These things obliged Clarendon sometimes to oppose the rashness of Tyrconnel; and this was represented in England as opposition to the King's will. From Clarendon's letters, which have been lately published, it appears, he suspected that his letters were not read by Sunderland to his master. In this situation the fate of Rochester naturally drew after it that of his brother. James, however, shewed respect to both, while he removed them from power, bestowing a pension of 4000 *l.* a-year upon Rochester, and of 2000 *l.* ‡ upon Clarendon. Rochester asked leave to go to Spaw for his health. James suspecting that he intended to go to Holland, which was the common place of resort for all those who were discontented in England, answered, "He might go where

* Appendix to this Book.

† Clarendon's Letters p. 88m.

‡ Ibid. Jan. 7, 1687-8.

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and 1687.Sunder-
land's am-
bition dis-
appointed.

" he pleased, provided he passed not through Holland." Rochester went directly to Spaw, without paying his compliments to the Prince in passing; a mark of disrespect, which, at an after-period, was remembered against him.

Upon the dismissal of Rochester, Sunderland took advantage of the foibles of Petre. He flattered his vanity; he opened vast prospects to his ambition; he prevailed upon James to bring him into the privy-council, and to ask a cardinal's cap for him from the Pope; and he made an offer to Petre to resign the secretary's seals in his favour, if, by their joint interest, the treasurer's staff could be secured for Sunderland. Petre hesitated, perhaps overawed by the greatness of the object. But Sunderland begged the Queen to ask the treasurer's staff for himself. She declined. He then asked it from the King: But James, who knew that Sunderland was not expert in figures, refused his consent: A refusal of which Sunderland made no complaint, and which, therefore, probably sunk the deeper into his mind. Yet a point, more important in its consequences, was gained by Sunderland: Under the pretence, that a cabal of seven was too numerous either for expedition or secrecy, he prevailed on James to limit it to three, the King, Petre, and himself; and to give an order to the ambassadors abroad, that all intelligence of consequence should be communicated to the members of this cabal only: A resolution, which gave Sunderland the command of all the foreign correspondence; because the ministers thought it presumptuous to write often to the King, and both mean and dangerous to correspond on the public affairs of England with a Jesuit.

Attempts
upon the
possessions
of the
church.

After the removal of Lord Rochester, the attempts of James, in favour of his religion, were much more open, rapid, and extensive than they had been before. Hitherto no attempt had been made to bring Roman Catholics into
the

the possessions of the church: But, a few days after Rochester was dismissed, the deanery of Christ's church at Oxford, a very considerable preferment in the church of England, was given *, with a dispensation, to Massy a late convert: And an attempt † was made to impose a Roman Catholic, by means of a similar dispensation, upon the Charter-house. Soon after, a mandate was issued to the university of Cambridge, to give a degree of master of arts to Albine Francis, a Benedictine monk: The university refused to grant the favour, though they had, a few months before, conferred it upon a Mahometan, who was secretary to the ambassador of Morocco. Their vice-chancellor was therefore deprived ‡ of his office, and suspended, during pleasure, from that of master of his college. Other attempts were made upon other establishments of the church of England, some of which were successful, and others disappointed even by those who were the most attached to the King: For even Sawyer §, the attorney-general, refused to draw a warrant for a benefice to a priest, and the old and loyal Duke of Ormond, among others, to comply with a mandate, to receive a Roman Catholic in the Charter-house. Lord Castlemaine was sent ambassador extraordinary to the Pope, though any intercourse with that pontiff was, by the laws of England, high treason; and a pompous account of his public entry, and reception at Rome §, was published by authority. James gave a solemn audience, with a magnificent parade, at the castle of Windsor, to a nuncio from the Pope; although the Duke of Somerset, who was the Lord in waiting, refused to attend his duty, and resigned his place. This ceremony appeared to be an insult upon the nation, because the nuncio had been long

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* Reresby, 233. Appendix to Clarendon, vol. 2. p. 278.

† Carte's Life of Ormond.

‡ State Trials, vol. 3. 708.

§ Gazette, Feb. 7, 1686.

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known in a secular habit, and as a man of pleasure about court. Four popish Bishops were publicly consecrated in the chapel royal: They were sent to their dioceses, under the titles of Vicars Apostolical; and their pastoral letters, licensed and printed by the King's printer, were dispersed through the kingdom: The popish regular clergy were seen in all the rooms of the court in the habits of their order: Spectacles against which Ronquillo the Spanish ambassador having warned James, that Prince asked him, "If it was not the custom in Spain for the Kings to consult with their confessors?" "Yes," answered the ambassador, "and for that reason our affairs succeed so ill." Inferior members of the popish clergy even threatened to seize public buildings for the uses of their religion. A complaint of this kind having been carried to Lord Halifax by the French protestant church in the Savoy, "Let the priests," said he †, "turn you out; for you will the sooner do your own business and the nation's." The treasury having been put into commission, Lord Bellasis was placed at the head of it. Tyrconnel was sent Lord Lieutenant to Ireland. Lord Arundel received the privy-seal, another of Clarendon's offices. Many complained, that the King's brothers-in-law, the pillars of the church of England, were stripped of their honours to make way for Roman Catholics; but all were sensible, that the putting the command of Ireland into the hands of a man so violent and rash as Tyrconnel, would throw that kingdom into confusion, and make the King odious through all his dominions ‡. Directions were given to the Lords Lieutenant to assemble their deputies and the justices of peace ||, and to ask them, if they would chuse such members of parliament as would

* Reresby, 251.

† Life of K. W. v. p. 355.

‡ Reresby, 237.

|| Ibid. 251. 256.

consent to the abolition of the tests. Those who refused were displaced, and papists put into their places. This only was wanting to complete the unpopularity of James. Accounts of all these changes were published in the gazette, a paper under the direction of Sunderland, and many of them in terms full of affectation, and which could not fail to provoke the people.

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and 1687.

While these general alterations struck the eyes of the public, a change which James made in the oath of a privy-counsellor discovered to those who were nearer his person, the minuteness of his attention to the interests of popery. The oath of a privy-counsellor contained these words: "I shall, to my utmost, defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminencies, and authorities, granted to his Majesty, and annexed to his crown by act of parliament, or otherwise, against all foreign princes, persons, *prelates*, states, or potentates." This part of the oath was, by special order of the King, expunged from the council-book *.

Most of those things passed in the course of the year 1686: The rest in the year 1687. But the last of these years was signalized chiefly by a measure which could not fail, either by dividing the protestant interest, to give James a better chance of success in his views, or by uniting it against him, to increase his difficulties: Suspending at once, by his own authority, the whole system of laws provided by so many parliaments against nonconformity, he published a declaration of indulgence in favour of all his subjects; by which he not only gave them a full toleration in matters of religion, but dispensed with their taking the tests; and thus laid open all offices to catholics, and sectaries, and churchmen alike. This act of absolute power was the more provoking, because the

1687.
Declaration
of indul-
gence.

April 4.

* Books of privy-council, 1, 13, July 1688. The words were replaced at the revolution. Vid. books 16 Feb. 1688.

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1687.

Feb. 12.

1686-7.

same gazette which published it, contained a pro rogation of parliament to a distant period. The experiment of the declaration was first tried in Scotland, upon account of the absurdity and unpopularity of the test in that country, which had brought ruin upon the Earl of Argyle. But the words in which the Scottish declaration was expressed, like those of all the other state-papers drawn by Stuart, were contrived to offend those whom they pretended to oblige : For the declaration bore, that the King had issued it by “ his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and “ absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey “ without reserve.” This declaration was received in Scotland with a sullen disregard : The churchmen and royalists were displeased to see those whom they called fanatics freed from the penal laws ; and the presbyterian party remonstrated to each other : “ The declaration was “ specious and liberal, indeed, to appearance, but hol- “ low and designing at the bottom : For, under pretence “ of showing indulgence to nonconformists, it was “ only meant to procure it for Roman Catholics. They “ had already felt the severity of the Duke of York’s “ administration against their religion. What had so sud- “ denly reconciled him to their interests ? Had what was “ called the former rebellion of their friends, or their own “ late opposition in parliament, gained favour in his eyes ? “ Such actions were not calculated to gain the friendship “ of Kings. Favours offered voluntarily by enemies “ were always suspicious ; but they were doubly so, when “ pressed upon those who were not asking them.” The privy-council was almost the only public body * which paid compliments to James’s spirit of toleration. But these compliments discovered to the wise, that only the King’s servants yielded to the King’s sentiments. In England, the dissenters were so weak as to be caught in

* Gazette, March 3, 1686-7.

the snare, and made advances to form connections with the crown *.

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1687.

James sows
jealousies
between the
church and
dissenters.

James, improving upon these advances, endeavoured, by raising jealousies between the dissenters and the church, to procure concessions from both; from the former in hopes of keeping, and from the latter, of regaining his favour. For this purpose, addresses in favour of protestant dissenters were encouraged, and favourable answers given to them: Plans were received and digested at court for their security: The court language was, that the King's intentions to shew favour to the dissenters had hitherto been prevented from taking effect, by the severity and pride of the church of England. In order to expose the rigour of that church, James gave orders † to make a scrutiny into all the vexatious suits which had been brought in the ecclesiastical courts against dissenters. By his orders ‡, the common councils of London, and of many other corporations ||, were filled with dissenters. The justices of peace and deputy lieutenants were changed almost all over the kingdom; and in the Gazette §, it was avowed by government, that this was done to gain security for the declaration of indulgence. James's common conversation, and his public papers, contained expressions of the greatest cordiality to those of that denomination. Many can bear the frowns of Kings. But their smiles are more irresistible. The dissenters of England in general were ripe for attaching themselves to the party of the King.

This new state of party was beginning to be attended with the consequences which James had foreseen. Animosities daily arose between the zealots of the church of

* Sir John Reresby.

† Gazette, March 3, 1687. et passim.

‡ Sir John Reresby. Books of privy-council, 24 September, 10 February, 1687.

|| There are innumerable instances of these changes in the books of privy-council from November 1687, till June 1688.

§ Gazette, December 12, 1687.

England,

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England, and of the dissenters ; the former upbraiding their protestant brethren with their desertion of the protestant cause, and the latter reminding the church of England of her past rigours, and insulting her present misfortunes. Of all the measures taken by James, this gave the greatest alarm and uneasiness to those who were resolved to oppose his innovations. The best writers of the protestant party, therefore, employed themselves in publications to stop the growth of the evil, particularly Lord Halifax, and Burnet, the facility of whose style and imagination was more suited to the looseness of pamphlet-writing, than to the precision, impartiality, and dignity of history. To the church of England they held forth, “ the necessity of forgetting past injuries between the church and dissenters, and of uniting for future defence against their common enemies the Roman Catholics.” They warned the dissenters, “ the royal favour, with which they were blinded, could not be sincere, or long-lived, which had been conferred upon them, only because the church of England would not receive it on the terms of making concessions to popery, and of which that church could strip them in an instant, by yielding to those terms.”

The knowledge of the human mind is best learnt from history. That mind often deceives itself, when we think it means to deceive others. The King, in his letters of application to the Prince of Orange, for the protection of some monks who were afraid of being persecuted in Holland, expressed sentiments of toleration worthy of Antoninus *, and perhaps he believed himself sincere when he did so ; and yet at the very same time he was congratulating Louis the XIVth at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, for his persecution of the Huguenots.

* Appendix to this Book.

While James was pursuing so many imprudent and dangerous measures, he was, by the frivolousness of public addresses, lulled into a fatal security, from which he was awaked only by the noise of his own ruin. Not only all the different bodies of the dissenters thanked him for his declaration of indulgence; but five bishops, at the head of their clergy, the body of lawyers, the city of London, and great numbers of other public bodies of the church of England, followed the example. Although almost every individual in the nation was inflamed against the King, and most of those who were founded * by his orders, declared they would not comply in parliament with his measures; yet almost all public bodies appeared to be in transports with his conduct †.

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1687.

James
blinded by
addresses.

Amidst James's projects about religion, he neglected not his temporal interests. He adopted that project of simplifying government, and of reducing all business to the person of the sovereign, which every Prince since the world began, who has aimed at arbitrary power, has endeavoured to carry into execution. When he put the treasury into commission, he declared to the privy-council, that he did it, because too much power was committed to the high treasurer; and, at the same time, he declared, that, for the same reason, the offices of general and admiral were, in due time, to be exercised by himself only ‡. James stretched his views of subjecting all things to his will, even beyond the Atlantic; For he ordered *quo warrantos* to be issued, to forfeit all

The King's
ideas of go-
vernment.

* Reresby, 257. † The Gazettes of the year 1687 and 1688, are full of those addresses. James was so fond of them, that he received one from the company of cooks, in which they said, "that the declaration of indulgence resembled the Almighty's manna, which suited every man's palate;" and, "that men's different *gustos* might as well be forced as their different apprehensions about religion." Gazette, Nov. 4.

‡ Books of privy-council, Jan. 7, 1686.

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1687.

Attempt on
Magdalene
college.

the charters of the proprietors and corporations in America *.

April 11.

In times of high passion, the public attention is more engrossed by particular exertions of power, than by the general and important regulations which it establishes. An act of royal power against one of the colleges of Oxford, united the church, and friends of liberty against the King, and suspended the advances of the dissenters. James issued a mandate, with a dispensation to Magdalene college in Oxford, a foundation extremely rich, to chuse one Farmer, who had promised to become catholic, president of the college. Farmer happened to be, by the statutes of the foundation, under several disabilities, which the fellows could not get over without breaking their oaths to the statutes of their founders. The fellows, therefore, in a petition, represented their difficulties to the King, begged him to recal the mandate, and offered to chuse any other qualified † person he pleased. The answer returned by Lord Sunderland was, that the King expected obedience to his will. The fellows waited the King's further pleasure, until the last day on which they were limited by their statutes to elect, and then chose Dr. Hough, a man of high character, and of higher spirit, who was immediately confirmed by the Bishop of Winchester, visitor of the college, and installed. For this contumacy, the ecclesiastical commission punished Hough by deprivation, and two of the fellows by suspension: But they refused to submit to the sentence, and continued in the exercise of their offices, upon this ground, that their set-

June 22.

* This important order is to be found in the books of privy-councils May 28, 1687. The English subjects of America, who complain of their sufferings under the present reign, may compare that order with the measures of a very different nature which another Prince has tried to pacify and reclaim them.

† State Trials, v. 3. p. 718.

tlements in the college were their freeholds, bestowed
 upon them by the will of their founder, and of which,
 therefore, they could not be deprived, unless by a com-
 mon trial at law. In order to avoid the question con-
 cerning the statutory disabilities under which Farmer
 laboured, James, soon after, issued a new mandate to the
 fellows, to elect Parker, Bishop of Oxford, for their
 president; a man who had written a book in defence of
 the King's project of dispensing with the tests. The fel-
 lows made answer, that the place was full by the election
 of Dr. Hough. James went to Oxford, in a progress he
 was making through the western parts of his kingdom,
 sent for the fellows, upbraided them with their disobed-
 ience, and commanded them forthwith to depart from
 his presence, and elect Bishop Parker. His last words to
 them were, "that otherwise they should feel the weight
 " of his hand." They retired to their chapel, and there
 resolved to prefer their duty to the laws, to the will of their
 sovereign. James perceived too late the false step he had
 made, in exposing his authority to the affront of a personal
 refusal, and in making altercations between a King of
 England and the fellows of a college, the subject of dis-
 pute among boys; and abruptly left Oxford. A deputa-
 tion of the college followed him to Bath, with some ge-
 neral but unmeaning assurances of their loyalty and obe-
 dience. James, fretted with them, and with himself,
 gave directions to bring the matter to a compromise: The
 fellows listened to a treaty, in order to keep up the atten-
 tion of the public, and to give importance to themselves:
 But, in the end, encouraged by a party, and flattered
 with the applauses of the youth, they refused to make any
 concessions. The King had gone too far to retreat with
 honour, or to proceed without loss of popularity: He al-
 lowed two months to pass over, and then sent a new
 ecclesiastical commission, as visitors, to Oxford, to ter-
 minate

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1687.

Sept. 4.

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1687.

minate a dispute which, by the variety of its incidents, was continually becoming more and more serious. The new commissioners entered a town of gownsmen, surrounded with three troops of horse. Doctor Hough was asked by the Bishop of Chester, president of the court, if he would submit to the former sentence of deprivation? He answered, he would not; and, with great intrepidity, asserted the rights of the college, and defended his own. The King's proctor, upon this, accused him of contumacy; and the court struck his name out of the college-book. The fellows were next asked, if they would assist at the instalment of the Bishop of Oxford? All but two refused. Hough protested against the proceedings of the commission, and appealed to the courts of law in Westminster-hall. A low but firm murmur of applause, the genuine and insuppressible voice of English liberty, was heard from every part of the hall, in which almost the whole university was assembled. The court, however, caused the doors of the president's lodgings to be broken open, and installed the Bishop of Oxford by proxy. The Bishop of Chester then intimidated the fellows by threats in public, and soothed them by promises in private. They who had withstood the frown of the sovereign of the nation, were not able to withstand the authority of a superior of their own order: A paper was signed by them in these words: "That, since the King had caused the
" Bishop of Oxford to be installed, they submitted to
" him, so far as was lawful, and agreeable to the statutes
" of the college, and not prejudicial to the right of Doc-
" tor Hough." The Bishop, having brought them thus far, thought he was sure of making his victory complete, and insisted, that they should sign a paper, acknowledging their offence, and begging pardon of the King. By this frivolous demand, he lost the effect of what he had formerly gained. The fellows, ashamed of their late
concession,

concession, observing their credit likely to sink with their old friends, and that they could never expect to find any with a party which thus insisted upon their debasing themselves, refused, explained away what they had formerly done, and, in the end, retracted it. The court, PART I.
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1687. Oa. 27. embarrassed by this sudden turn, stopped and returned to London. But the King soon after sent them back to Oxford, where they admitted some new fellows by their own authority alone. Then calling for the fellows of the college, the commissioners insisted that, before they quitted the room, they should sign a paper of the same tenour with the paper which the Bishop of Chester had formerly presented to them. The fellows, willing to prolong the matter, asked time to consider, and to give their answer in writing ; but met with a refusal. All of them, near thirty in number, except two who professed obedience, were deprived, and declared incapable of church-preferment for the future. Others were placed in their stead by authority of the King. And to these, upon the death of the Bishop of Oxford, which happened soon after, a mandate was issued to elect Gifford for their president, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, titular Bishop of Madura, and one of the four Vicars Apostolical of England. These disputes the more engaged the passions of the English, because the attack upon the college, affecting the constitution and freehold of the members, was considered to be an invasion of property, as well as of religion.

But the passions of the nation were, a few months after, 1688. in the spring of the year 1688, transferred to an object more important and more affecting : For James, rushing April 27. with precipitancy upon his ruin, published a new declaration of indulgence, and commanded all the clergy to read it in the churches. This general command brought matters to a point between the King and the church ; because it was obvious, if the clergy read the proclamation, Bishops petition. that

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1688.

May 18.

that their order would become contemptible to their hearers; and, if they disobeyed, that they would be obnoxious to the pains of the new commission-courts. In this delicate situation, between the danger of offending the King, or of losing the people, almost all the clergy preferred their honour, and their duty, to the King's favour; and resolved not to read the declaration. Six of the Bishops, Loyd of St. Asaph, Kenne of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol, met with Archbishop Sancroft, at his palace at Lambeth, to consult concerning common measures. One or two divines *, together with Lord Clarendon, were the only other persons privy to this consultation. The Bishops framed the following decent and soothing, but firm petition to the King: And six of them, the Archbishop being sick, delivered it in person to him: "Humbly sheweth, that the great averfeness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late declaration for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty (our holy mother the Church of England, being both in her principles and constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having, to her honour, been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty), nor yet from any want of tenderness to dissenters, in relation to whom, we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation; but among many other considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power, as hath been often declared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign;

* Clarendon's Diary, May 12.

" and

“ and in a matter of so great moment, and consequence
 “ to the whole nation, both in church and state, your pe-
 “ titioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience,
 “ so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution
 “ of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of
 “ it once again, even in God’s house, and in the time of
 “ divine service, must amount to, in common and reason-
 “ able construction.

“ Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly and ear-
 “ nestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased
 “ not to insist upon their distributing and reading your
 “ said declaration.”

James read the petition, and made the following an-
 “swer: “ I have heard of this before, but did not believe
 “ it. I did not expect this from the church of England,
 “ especially from some of you. If I change my mind,
 “ you shall hear from me ; if not, I expect my command
 “ shall be obeyed.” The Bishops replied, “ We resign
 “ ourselves to the will of God ;” bowed, and retired.

Although Sancroft had the precaution to write the pe-
 tition with his own hand, lest a copy might be taken ;
 yet, from the infidelity of those who surrounded the
 King, printed copies of the petition were dispersed all
 over London, the same night it was presented. All men,
 therefore, saw, that the contest was now brought to a cri-
 sis between James and the church : For the Bishops, by
 interesting their “prudence, honour, and conscience,”
 in the dispute, had put it out of their power to draw
 back ; and James, by his continual repetition of the ne-
 cessity of obedience in subjects, had obliged himself to go
 forward. He took, however, three weeks to consider of the
 prospect before him. The nation, believing that their
 own fate, and the fate of their posterity, was depending,
 waited the event with impatience and anxiety.

PART I.
BOOK IV.

1688.

June 8.
They appear
before the
council.

At last the Bishops were called to appear before the privy-council: They were asked, "If they owned their petition?" A question, which was become necessary, because, without their acknowledgment, it was difficult to prove that they had delivered the petition: They declined to answer the question; a refusal which embarrassed the council. They were ordered to withdraw. Upon their return, they still declined to answer, which continued the embarrassment. But, at length, reflecting, that it was the more manly part to avow to the council what they were resolved to defend to the world, they owned the paper. Jeffreys asked them, if they would give recognizances to appear before the court of King's bench, to stand trial for their misdemeanour. With a view to engage the Peers in their quarrel, they insisted upon their privilege of peerage, and refused to find bail. Jeffreys menaced them with the tower, and the King's indignation. They answered, "That they were willing to go wherever the King pleased; for that the King of Kings was their protector and judge." They were committed to the tower, all the privy-counsellors signing the warrant, except Father Petre, who by the King's command was excused. Jeffreys *, who foresaw the consequences of this prosecution, advised the King against it. But there is reason to believe, that Sunderland promoted it, while underhand he exhorted the Bishops to stand firm.

They are
sent to the
tower.

Directions were given to carry the Bishops, by water, to the tower, in order to prevent the emotions which a sight of their sufferings, in their passage through the city, might raise in the people. But the people rushed in innumerable crowds to the river, to wait for them, covering the banks on both sides, and filling the rooms, and even roofs of all the adjoining houses. They set up a

* Clarendon's Diary, June 14 and 27.

shout of acclamation, when the Bishops were first discovered at a distance ; shed tears, and offered prayers for their deliverance, when they approached ; threw themselves with reverence on the ground as they passed ; and still with their eyes followed the barges when disappearing. The contagion caught even the soldiers : They kneeled, and asked the blessings of those prisoners whom they were appointed to guard. When the Bishops arrived at the tower, it was the hour of evening service. The bell tolled ; the clergyman was entering the chapel ; and the people flocking into it. They embraced the omen, and repaired instantly to church, to return their thanks to that God, in whose cause, they believed, they were suffering.

They were brought to their trial in the court of King's bench : The crime charged against them was, "the framing and publishing a seditious, false, and malicious libel, against the King's prerogative and government, under the pretence of presenting a petition to the King." Twenty-nine Peers, with a great number of divines and commoners of rank, attended them to their trial ; tories and whigs vying with each other who should do them most honour. The populace, who assembled in expectation of the event, were more numerous than ever had been seen together in England. Their acclamations, proceeding from animation and anger, were more violent and more continued, than those which had been heard when the Bishops were passing to the tower ; because they were not broken by the varying passions of grief and uncertainty. The prisoners received these honours with affection and humility. In distributing their benedictions, they exhorted the people to repress their zeal, and to honour and obey the King : A generosity which increased the public resentment against him who was the cause of their sufferings. When the judges entered the court,

June 29.
The trial,

PART I.
BOOK IV.

1688.

they found it filled with men and women of the first rank. The arguments of the Bishops council, particularly of Mr. Somers, who owed his future fortune to the character he gained in this trial, were received by the audience with a favour proportioned to the aversion with which those of the prosecutors were heard. They argued, "As Peers, it was the right of the Bishops to give counsel to the King : As prelates, it was their duty to attend to the interests of that religion which was committed to their charge. They had not invaded the King's prerogative, by remonstrating against the dispensing power ; for the King had no such prerogative : The petition could not be *seditious*, for it was presented to the King in private, and to him only ; nor *false*, for the matter of it was true ; nor *malicious*, for the occasion was not sought by them, but pressed upon them ; it was not a *libel*, for the intention was innocent, and the subject has leave, by law, to petition his Prince when he thinks himself aggrieved ; it was not *published*, for the Archbishop had not trusted even the writing of the petition to a clerk, and the Bishops could give no copy, because they had none." Two of the judges, Lord Chief Justice Wright and Allybone, gave their opinions to the jury against the prisoners ; the other two, Powel and Holloway, declared their sentiments in their favour. The jury kept themselves inclosed all night, in order to give the more solemnity to their proceedings, and in the morning returned their verdict, that the prisoners were not guilty. The verdict was received with a shout in the court *, which was answered by one from the multitude in the palace-yard, and, almost in an instant, by a thousand shouts from different parts of the town. These were continued from village to village, till they reached

* Lord Clarendon, who was present, says it almost made the roof crack. Diary, June 30.

the army incamped on Hounslow-heath, which was seized with the same sympathetic transport. The King happened that day to be in Lord Feversham's tent, and hearing the camp in an uproar, sent Feversham to enquire into the cause: He returned, and reported, "It was nothing but the joy of the soldiers for the discharge of the Bishops."—"Nothing!" said the King, "do you call that nothing? But so much the worse for them" (meaning the Bishops). He returned immediately to town, and issued a proclamation, forbidding the populace to assemble in the streets. The restraint increased their zeal; and the city was lighted up by bone-fires and illuminations. Some persons were tried for disorders committed that evening; but the juries acquitted them*, though often sent back by the judges to reconsider their verdicts.

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BOOK IV.

1688.

July 12.

Soon after the trial of the Bishops, Powel and Holloway were struck off the list of judges, and the ecclesiastical commission issued an order † for returning the names of all those clergymen who had refused to read the King's declaration of indulgence, in order that prosecutions might be directed against them; impotent marks of revenge and obstinacy. But soon after, the Bishop of Rochester ‡, who observed how the current ran, having written a letter to the ecclesiastical commission, desiring to be excused from attending it any longer, it met no more.

Finding the civil and ecclesiastical courts insufficient for the accomplishment of his will, James gave orders to sound the different regiments at Blackheath, if they would stand by him in the abrogation of the tests. The major of Litchfield's regiment made a speech to the soldiers, and ordered all those to lay down their arms who would not comply with their sovereign's desire. The whole re-

Dispositions
of the army.

* Reresby, p. 265.

† Gazette, July 12.

‡ Bishop of Rochester's Letters to Lord Dorset.

PART I.
BOOK IV.
1688.

July 13,
1687.

giment, except a few, threw their arms upon the ground. The King was on the field. He was struck motionless at the fight. But, after some pause, he ordered them to take up their muskets, and said, with a sullen ambiguity, "That he would do them the honour to ask their advice another time." Experience should have taught him how little his military force was to be depended upon in matters of religion. For the year before, Admiral Strickland, who was a papist, having directed the priests to say mass on board his ship, the seamen, a class of men not famous in England for attention to religious controversy, rose in a mutiny, and insisted to throw the priests overboard. Strickland proceeded to severity: The severity added rage to mutiny; and both flew from ship to ship. The King was obliged to repair to Portsmouth, to pacify the seamen. He in vain called them his children and old friends. Though more easily affected with concessions, and with kindness of expression, than other men, it was impossible to satisfy them until the priests were removed from all the ships *.

Birth of the
Prince of
Wales.
Passions of
the people.

During the prosecution of the Bishops, the Queen was brought to bed of a son. Rumours were immediately spread, and, as men easily believe what they wish, were greedily received, that the birth was an imposture. Many falsehoods were invented and circulated to increase the suspicion; and, according to the nature of credulity, in times of high passion, the most improbable were the most believed. Even men of sense and of candour seemed to have lost their superiority of mind in the prejudices of the vulgar. The vulgar even fell below their ordinary deficiency of common understanding: They believed, that the fireworks, prepared in honour of the Prince of Wales's birth, were intended to bombard the city, in revenge for their rejoicings upon the deliver-

* Sir John Keresby, 265.

ance of the Bishops. And as men in terror are prone to superstition, the sky happening, on the night of the fireworks, to be alternately obscured by clouds, and inflamed by lightnings, they cried out, "That this was an expression of the Almighty's indignation against the imposture put upon the protestant heirs to the throne." Few reflected how unlikely it was, that James should stifle the voice of nature, to injure his daughters, who had never injured him. It was said, "That one who had broken faith with his God in changing his religion, and with his people in invading the constitution, was become insensible to all the ties of nature."

PART I.
BOOK IV.
1688.

A P P E N D I X

T O

B O O K S III. and IV.

UPON the defeat of Monmouth's rebellion, King James became intoxicated with his prosperity. Instead of disbanding his army he encamped it on Hounslow-heath, and resolved to make it the great instrument of his power.

Barillon's dispatches are strewn thick with the expressions of an arbitrary disposition, which flew from James when he felt himself no longer under any control.

The rebellion was no sooner begun than Barillon in his letter of the 25th of June 1685, informed his court of the use which James was to make of it. The words of the dispatch are : " It seems to me that the King of England is very glad to have a pretence for raising troops, and he believes that the Duke of Monmouth's enterprise will serve only to make him still more master of his country."

On the 30th July 1685, Barillon writes thus to his court : " The King of England's scheme is, to abolish the militia entirely, the uselessness and danger of which he found on this last occasion, and if possible to make the parliament apply the fund intended for the militia, to maintain the regular troops. All this entirely changes the state of this country, and puts the English in a different condition from what they have been in till now. They know it, and perceive very well that a King of a different religion from that of the country, and who is armed, will not easily renounce those advantages which
the

the defeat of the rebels, and the troops he has on foot, give him."

On the 6th of Aug. 1685, Barillon writes to his court thus: "The King of England told me, that let what would happen he would keep the troops on foot, even though the parliament should not give him any thing towards their maintenance. He knows very well the parliament will very unwillingly see this establishment; but he wants to be sure of himself at home, and believes he cannot be so without it."

On the 8th of July 1686, Barillon writes, "He caresses the officers much, and explains himself openly enough, that he will keep none but those on whom he may entirely depend."

King James could not conceal even from the Prince of Orange the pleasure which he felt from the encampment of his army at Hounslow.

King James to the Prince of Orange.

Windsor, June 29.

"ALL the troops I intended to have at Hounslow are now camped there, in the new camp I designed they should be; they continue very healthy there, having been but four buried since the first campaign of the foot upon that heath. I was there yesterday and saw them for the first time in battalle altogether; they are all good men, and the horse and dragoons well mounted, and all very orderly. To-morrow the Queen's and my daughter are to dine with me at the camp."

On the 29th of October 1685, Barillon writes to his court: "He (James) added, that his design was to make the parliament revoke the Test Act, and the Habeas Corpus Act; one of which was the destruction of the Catholic religion, and the other of the royal authority."

On

On the 10th December 1685, Barillon represents the sentiments both of Charles and James upon the habeas corpus act, that great charter of English liberty: "The deceased King of England, and the present one, have often said to me, that a government could not subsist with such a law."

James had the idea of converting even his fleet into an instrument of his power at home. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 19th December 1686: "The King of England continues to carry on the refitting of his ships with diligence. There is no appearance that this is designed for a foreign war; but he is persuaded, that it is very necessary for his interests to put the marine of England in a better state than it was, and that he shall much sooner gain what he desires from his people, when they see he has an army and fleet ready to make himself obeyed at home, and to prevent the factious from receiving any considerable assistance from abroad, if affairs should come to the point of an open rupture in England."

On the 29th July 1686, Barillon writes to his court, "The King of England openly shews his joy at finding himself in a condition to strike bold and authoritative strokes. He receives with pleasure the compliments which are made him upon it. He has spoken much to me about it, and given me to understand that he will not relax."

Lord Rochester saw too late the consequences of the doctrine of the King's independence upon parliament, with which he had flattered him in the first months of his reign; and wished, but in vain, to repair the mischief. Barillon, on the 11th March 1686, relates a conversation between the King and Lord Rochester on this head: Rochester said, "That he (i. e. Rochester) always thought a King of England was much more considerable, and much more happy, when he was upon a good footing with

he could draw from them what supplies he stood in need of." His Britannic Majesty answered, "That he was of opinion, the parliament of England would be more submissive, and more disposed to behave well, when they saw that, without their assistance, so many matters of importance could be effectuated; and that his resolution was, not to reign precariously."

Barillon, in his letter of 29th November 1685, to his court, describes thus the external manner of James, when he prorogued his parliament. "This Prince gave his answer likewise with marks of haughtiness and anger upon his face, which made his sentiments sufficiently be known."

There is in King William's Cabinet, the following letter from the King to the Prince of Orange upon this prorogation.

James the 2d to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of parliament.

Whitehall, December 1, 1685.

"I HAVE had yours of the 4th, in which you write to me about your concerns of Orange. I had this day an account from Sir William Trumbull, that he had spoken to Monsieur de Croissy about it, according to his orders, and I shall by the next order him to insist, and press it still, and will also speak this night to Mr. Barillon about it, and will continue doing my part that you may have satisfaction. I am as sorry as you can be, that I was obliged to prorogue the parliament; I hope when they meet next, they will be in better temper, and consider the true interest of the nation, and not be deceived by some ill men who fill their ears with fears and jealousies. As for news, Lord Brandon received his sentence

on Saturday last, and was to have been executed on Friday, but I have reprieved him, upon his having petitioned me for my mercy, and acknowledged his crimes.”

The King's zeal for popery kept pace with his attempts to arbitrary power. Barillon writes to his court, on the 30th April 1685, that James had desired the Lords Sunderland, Godolphin, and Rochester to attend him to the door of his chapel, where he was to go with his guards and officers of his court; that the two first consented, but the last refused.

It is probable that Lord Sunderland, even from the beginning, adopted his master's sentiments in favour of popery. There is in the Depot the following dispatch on this subject, so early as the month of July 1685.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mons. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Lord Sunderland engaged thoroughly in the interests of popery.

July 16, 1685.

“**L**ORD Sunderland has entered very far with me, and appears to be informed to the bottom of what has passed between the King of England and myself upon the subject of the Catholic religion. This minister said to me, I do not know if they see things in France as they are here, but I defy those who see them near, not to know that the King, my master, has nothing so much at heart, as to establish the Catholic religion; that he cannot, even according to good sense and right reason, have any other end; that without it he will never be in safety, and always exposed to the indiscreet zeal of those who will heat the people

people against the Catholic religion as long as it is not fully established. There is another thing certain, which is, that this plan cannot succeed but by a strict concert and union with the King, your master; it is a project which is suitable only to him, and which cannot succeed but through him; all the other powers will openly oppose it, or counteract it under hand. It is well known that it is not suitable to the Prince of Orange, but he will not be in a condition to hinder it, if they conduct themselves in France as is necessary; that is to say, if they manage the King of England's friendship, and support him in his design.

I see clearly the apprehension many people have of an alliance with France, and the efforts they make to weaken it; but that will not be in the power of any one, if France does her part; it is upon this you must explain yourself clearly, and make it known that the King, your master, will sincerely assist the King of England in establishing the Catholic religion firmly here."

In this dispatch Barillon repeats the following expressions of King James to him, "That he had been brought up in France, and eat of your Majesty's bread, and that his heart was French."

On the 26th March 1686, Barillon gives his court the following account of the council of seven, mentioned in the Memoirs to which the present papers are an Appendix. "The Earl of Powis has been joined to the other Catholic Lords, whom the King of England consults, and who often meet at Lord Sunderland's to deliberate upon matters that offer; it is a sort of council, independent of any other, and in which the most important resolutions are taken; that is to say, those which relate to religion."

In King William's Cabinet there are the two following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, which,

if not contradicted by other evidence, would do honour to his spirit of toleration.

*King James to the Prince of Orange, Jan. 15th, 1686.—
Intreats him to give protection to regular Priests in
Holland.*

“ I MUST now write to you about an affair, which, as a Christian, and one who is concerned for you, I could not omit doing; it is to desire you to hinder, by your authority, the banishing out of Rotterdam, and other towns in Holland, the regular Priests, I mean the Monks, Friars, and Jesuits; since it will not only be a great hardship to the poor Catholics, but will be a real prejudice to your trade and commerce by driving out so many as will leave the country, if they cannot have the regulars with them, and that will certainly be the consequence if the regulars be sent away: and methinks that though in France the Huguenots are so severely dealt with, that should not make you in Holland follow such an example, which must be really prejudicial to the true interest of your government. I could say much more on this subject, but have not time.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Pleased that the Prince has saved the Priests.—The King’s spirit of toleration.

Whitehall, January 26, 1686.

“ I HAVE received yours of the 30th, in answer to one I had written to you concerning the regular Priests, and am very glad to find by it that they will not be sent away, and hope you will still continue of the same mind,

mind, and do easily believe you are not for prosecuting any merely for their religion : I always was, and will be of that mind ; and am of your opinion, that it was the very hard usage the Huguenots had, and have still in France, which made that affair of the regulars be talked on where you are, and hope, as to that, you will continue of the same mind you are."

But men oft-times deceive themselves. While James was boasting of these sentiments of toleration to the Prince of Orange, he was congratulating the French on the want of it, in revoking the edict of Nantes. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 4th October 1685 : "His Britannic Majesty also heard with pleasure, what I told him of the wonderful progress with which God had blessed your Majesty's cares with regard to the conversion of your subjects ; there being no example of a similar thing happening at any time, or in any country, with so much promptitude. His Britannic Majesty believes, that so important a work will not remain imperfect, and that God will grant you the favour to finish it entirely." And on the 18th August 1686, Barillon writes thus : "Mr. Adda (that is, the Pope's Nuncio) has communicated to the King of England what the Pope said in the consistory upon the subject of your Majesty ; and what you have done to extirpate heresy in France. His Britannic Majesty spoke of it as a thing that gave him great pleasure."

Barillon, in his dispatch of the 1st July 1686, represents thus the sentiments of James upon the disappointment which the opposition of the Scotch parliament, in matters of religion, had given him : "The King of England told me, that the affairs of Scotland had not taken
the

the turn he at first expected, and that the factious cabal had hindered the well-intentioned from doing what was reasonable, and what they had resolved upon; that nevertheless he should draw a great advantage from knowing the true designs of both; and by the authority which the laws give him, he could establish in Scotland that liberty in favour of the Catholics which the parliament refused to grant."

In this dispatch Barillon relates, that the Scotch who opposed in parliament James's schemes about religion, said, "That they must by refusing to sell their God, wipe off the reproach of having sold their King."

In the year 1686, James broke the Duke of Queensberry's protestant ministry in Scotland, and filled that of Lord Clarendon in Ireland with papists. In King William's Cabinet there is the following intimation of this step by the King to the Prince.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Changes made in Scotland and Ireland.

Whitehall, March 2, 1686.

"I HAD not time to tell you the last post of some alterations I have made in Scotland, having put the Treasury into commission, and made the Duke of Gordon master of the castle of Edinburgh, both which I thought very necessary for my service; and now that Lord Clarendon is settled in Ireland, am going to make a new Chancellor, and to change some of the Judges in that kingdom."

King James, at length, in December 1686, avowed his intention of observing ceremony no longer in favour of his religion, by dismissing Lord Rochester, who had refused to be converted by a conference between popish and protestant divines. Barillon, in his letter of the 12th December 1686, describes thus the state of men's minds while the issue of that conference was in suspense: "This affair is so important, and ought to have consequences so considerable, that it keeps all others in suspense."



B O O K V.

THE Nation turns its Eyes to the Prince of Orange.—— Situation of the Prince, and of Holland, in the year 1688, relative to other Nations.——The Prince's Movements in England.——His secret Preparations in Holland.——His Public Preparations.——James kept long in the Dark.——At last receives Intelligence of the intended Invasion.——Offers of France to assist him.——Officers cashiered for refusing Popish Recruits.——James makes Advances to the Church.——His Preparations.——His Negotiations with the States.——Differences in the Prince's English Councils.——The Prince publishes his Declaration.——His Followers publish other Papers.——Interview of James with the Bishops.——Inquiry into the Birth of the Prince of Wales.——The Prince of Orange detained by Cross-winds.——State of Men's Minds in this Interval.

PART I.
BOOK V.
1689.

DURING a succession of such disagreeable measures, almost all eyes in Britain were turned towards the Prince of Orange, whose consort, the Lady Mary, was the

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The nation turns its eyes to the Prince of Orange.

PART I.
BOOK V.
1688.

next heir to the Crown, and a Protestant, and who was himself the preserver of his own country, the head of the Protestant interest in Christendom, and the assertor of the liberties of Europe, in opposition to that power which was the hereditary enemy of England. The whigs were willing to seize liberty under any leader; and the Tories deemed it not incompatible with their principles of obedience, to receive it from the hands of a Prince whose conduct would in all probability, have a right to their future allegiance. The church of England was driven to despair; the dissenters found out at last, that they were like to be made the forgers of their own chains. Many of James's friends began to think, that they had gone too far with him. Even Jeffreys hesitated, repented, and trembled *. Some indulged, some changed, and some invented principles to vindicate their conduct; but almost all resolved on the conduct they were to follow. The birth of the Prince of Wales set all these sparks in a flame. Men saw no end to their fears; and the happiness of their Sovereign, in this event, was looked upon as an entail of calamity on the nation. James, by avoiding to assemble his parliament, had put it out of the power of his people to recur to their constitutional relief. Most abhorred the thought of a civil war, because they recollected, that, in the time of Charles I. the nation, in defending itself against one master, had been subjected to an hundred tyrants: But they thought that a foreign force, together with the pre-

* Reresby *passim*, and Clarendon's diary. Jeffreys, like all insolent men, was much a coward. One of Charles II.'s parliaments having attacked him, in order to oblige him to surrender his office of recorder of London, Charles offered him his protection, and even solicited him to make use of it. But Jeffreys in terrors resigned. Charles said, with his usual wit, "Jeffreys, I find, is not parliament-proof," North's *Examen*, p. 551.

pretensions of the Prince of Orange, to interpose in the settlement of a nation which was too apt, when left to itself, to run into confusion, might afford security against tyranny on the one hand, and anarchy on the other. In one thing only the tories and whigs differed : The tories intended no more by asking the protection of the Prince of Orange, than to procure a great parliamentary settlement for the security of the national religion and laws : But the whigs, concealing their intentions in public, animated each other thus in private : “ Parliamentary settlements and laws, in support of religion and liberty, they had in abundance : But of what avail were parliaments and laws against a King, who considered the first only as instruments of his convenience in reigning ; and who asserted a right of dispensing when he pleased with the last ? There was an original contract between the Prince and the subject, by which the one was bound to observe the laws, and the other his allegiance. But James had broken his part of this contract : They were therefore free from their part of it likewise. And the time was now ripe, in compliance with the voice of the people, to oblige him to descend from that throne, from which by the voices of two successive Houses of Commons, he had already been excluded.” All these different parties carried their complaints to the Prince of Orange with the more freedom ; because, although the reserved manner, which was natural to him, together with his opinion of the violence and variableness of the British in politics, made him cautious of speaking out his own sentiments ; yet he was ever ready to hear the complaints of a people who, beyond all others, are impatient of misery ; and who, even when happy, complain because they are not happier : And these manners gave an high opinion of his prudence to the

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BOOK V.

1688.
Natural
connection
at this time
between
England
and Hol-
land.

the discontented part of the English, and that they were safe in forming connections with him.

The English were at this time well disposed to connect their interests with those of the Prince's countrymen. The sudden revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. had revived the remembrance of those ties which, a century before, had united and supported the civil and religious interests of England and Holland. And, when the English compared the revocation of the edict with the succeeding conduct of James, they imputed both to a regular concerted plan between Louis and him, to destroy the Protestant religion all over Europe. Instead of endeavouring to wipe off the impressions which the discovery of Colman's letters had created, James had, during the last two years, managed his negotiations with France in a manner which confirmed those suspicions. For although there were treaties between England and France, which provided for the security of English subjects residing in the last of these countries; yet no sooner was the edict of Nantes revoked, than dragoons were quartered upon the English merchants, to force them to change their religion, and they were not permitted to leave the kingdom. When James complained of these things, the French court gave orders, that none of the English who were not naturalised should be molested: But, as directions were at the same time given, that the wives and children of those who had married French women, should be considered as naturalised, the last part of the order made the first of little use; and the wives and children were sent to prisons or to convents. Arts were used to rob of the benefit of the order, even the few who were entitled to it *. The French seized on the coasts of

* A letter from Sir William Trumball, the English ambassador in France, to Lord Sunderland, December 19. 1685, in the paper-office, gives a curious instance of this:

of England, some French fishermen who were settled in England, and under pretence that they had carried English Protestants from France into England, committed them to prisons †. They would not permit the English Protestants, who died in France, to be buried ‡; and the corps of a woman who had been privately interred, was taken from the grave, and dragged naked through the streets. The English traders to Hudson's Bay, the West Indies, and Africa, were injured and insulted. The people of New England were not allowed to trade, or to fish to the north-

"I acquainted him (*i. e.* Monf. de Croissy) also with Sir William Douglas's petition for leave for his wife and child to go into England with him. But this, he told me plainly, the King had refused; for altho' the husband, being not naturalized, might go if he pleased, yet the wife and child were subjects of France, and should not have that permission.

"It happened, that, at the same time, I requested leave for one Mrs Wilkins to sell her estate at Rouen, and to return to her husband in England, whose case was this: Humphrey Wilkins had been for many years a merchant at Rouen, but falling into troubles, his wife obtained a sentence of separation *de habitation et des biens* from him, and so he went to London. Monf. de Croissy told me, that the King would not grant her any leave as she desired; but, because her husband had been naturalized, he looked upon her as his subject. So that, in the case of Sir William Douglas, they separate man and wife, and in this, they join them that were separated by the sentence of their own judges."

Louis, at this time, seems to have been as bigotted as James; and to have entered as much into detail. There is an instance also of this in Mr Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, June 11. 1687, in the paper-office.

"The King seems to be much afraid, that Mademoiselle Dromarre, when she shall be in the Princess of Denmark's court, may be prevailed upon by her sister to change her religion; and, though I had thought the assurance I had given in his Majesty's name, that nothing should be said to her to that purpose, might have been sufficient, yet the most Christian King cannot satisfy his conscience, until he receive some more particular assurance; and, for that purpose, Monf. de Croissy is ordered to write this day to Monf. Barillon, from whom your Lordship will hear further of that matter."

† Sir William Trumball's letters to Lord Sunderland in the paper-office.

‡ Ibid.

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northward *, and, when their ships were forced to anchor in the French roads for water or provisions, they were confiscated. Upon one occasion, fifty English mariners were thrown overboard. The French court at first denied the order for confiscation in the roads, but afterwards avowed it †. They laid duties so high upon the importation of the English cotton-manufactures, that the duties were equivalent to a prohibition ‡. Sir William Trumball presented spirited, but proper memorials †, upon these subjects. The French complained of the terms in which they were drawn, and he was reprimanded by his Sovereign. Provoked by the patience of the English, and the *hauteurs* of the French court, he resigned his embassy ++, and no satisfaction was obtained for the nation.

Louis XIV. had provoked the Pope by the humiliation of the Genoese, with whom that pontiff was connected by relation §, and had insulted him in his capital in

* Sir William Trumball and Skelton's letters.

† In Sir William Trumball's letter to Lord Sunderland, Jan. 2. 1686, in the paper-office, Monf. de Croissy denied the order; but, in the letter of 9th Jan. Sir William says, that having urged Monf. de Croissy upon the orders which the French commanders said they had, he answered, "He did believe (at least by consequence) there were such orders."

‡ Ibid. May 8. 1686.

† The memorials are in the paper-office *Vid.* also his letter 6th Feb. 1686.

++ Sir William Trumball's correspondence in the paper-office.

§ A letter in the paper-office from Lord Preston the English ambassador, to Lord Sunderland, from Paris, June 21 1624, contains these words:

"The Duc d'Etrees, the King's ambassador at Rome, hath lately had an audience of the Pope, in which he designed to have declared to him the reasons which the King his master had to batter Genoa with his bombs. But the Pope, without hearing him, put himself upon his knees before his oratory, and weeping, brought forth these words: *Defende causam tuam, O Domine!* and the ambassador, not knowing what to say, retired."

in the affair of the franchises : The whole reign of Louis had been a succession of injuries to the King of Spain and the Emperor. And, to shew his contempt of the Prince of Orange, he had, two years before the present period, pulled down the walls of Orange, committed the president, who was a Protestant, to prison, and, while he permitted the Protestant preachers of other nations to quit France *, he confined those of Orange in jails. The vengeance of all these Princes was therefore eager to fall upon him. Yet James, engrossed entirely with the interests of his religion, instead of imitating the policy of his brother, who either fomented the wars of his neighbours, or took no pains to bring them to a period, employed his good offices to compose differences between Louis and the Pope †, used all his influence to prevent a war between France and the confederate powers, affected to be vain of a connection with Louis, which was dignified by both with the name of friendship ‡, and made an offer to that Prince, to guarantee the twenty years truce, which was then subsisting in the western parts of Europe *. These marks of

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* Letter from Sir William Trumball to Lord Sunderland, 9th Jan. 1696, in the paper-office.

† Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, 15th Feb. 1688, in the paper-office.

‡ These things are strongly marked in the correspondence of the three successive ambassadors to France in this reign, in the paper-office, Lord Preston, Sir William Trumball, and Skelton. Upon Dykvelt the Dutch ambassador's going to England, Skelton represents the expressions of the French court thus :

“ Monf. de Croissy took notice to me of Monf. Dykvelt's going into England, and I find it is not approved here, fearing he does not design any good to his Majesty ; and they hope that the King will give them a short and speedy dismissal.” Letter from Skelton to Lord Sunderland, 1st Feb. 1687.

* Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, June 11. 1687, contains these words :

“ The

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Situation of
the Prince
and of Hol-
land in the
year 1768.

attention, or rather of subserviency to France, alarmed both the fears and the pride of the English.

But, above all, the English were disheartened when they heard of the rejoicings of the court of France for the imprisonment of the seven bishops, and the birth of the Prince of Wales*, judging, by a popular, and therefore for the most part by a just maxim, that England and France could seldom have reason to rejoice at one time.

Many things stimulated the Prince to comply with the desires of those who solicited him to interpose in the affairs of England. It is natural to hate to extremes what we extremely dread: Hence personal aversion to Louis XIV. was the ruling passion in the Prince's breast. That monarch had, in the year 1672, pushed Holland, and the Prince himself, to the brink of destruction. Since that time no year, scarce a month †, had passed, without some attempt

† “The most Christian King returning to Versailles on Saturday last, I went thither the next day, and presented the memorial your lordship sent me in your's of the 16th of May, which was read in council that morning, and yesterday Mons. de Croissy told me that the King his master had declared his zeal for the preserving the peace of Christendom, and his resolutions to preserve inviolably the declarations he had lately made to maintain the truce; so that he was very glad to hear that the King my master would accept the guarantee of it, and charge himself with it.

“The minister of Denmark has desired, that all the allies may be comprehended in this guarantee; and that the King his master may be particularly named in it, which Mons. Croissy has given him encouragement to hope.”

* A letter from Skelton to Lord Sunderland, June 16, 1688, in the paper-office, contains these words: “His Christian Majesty was also pleased to take notice to me of the imprisonment of the bishops, and very much applauds the King's resolution in that affair, and said he was ready to give his Majesty all manner of assistance that was in his power, which he spoke in such a cordial manner as the sincerity thereof is not to be doubted.” Vid. others of Skelton's letters.

† Vid. D'Avaux.

attempt by the Prince to kindle war against Louis, or some attempt by Louis to raise opposition to the Prince. When Louis destroyed the walls of Orange, the Prince said, "He would, one day, make him feel what it was to have exasperated a Prince of Orange." A saying which he often repeated, and always with a force in his manner, which indicated how deep the injury had sunk in his mind. During the two last years he had been forming a league, composed of one half of Europe against France, but which he knew would be unavailing without the accession of England. The King of Spain, the Emperor, and the Prince, pressed James to join in that league. To the two first of these Princes, after entertaining them with some hopes, James answered, "He meant to keep peace with his neighbours, and to confine his attention to the commerce of his own kingdoms." To the last of them he offered to accede, provided the Prince would concur with him in procuring the abolition of the tests and penal laws against Roman Catholics in England*: A discrepancy in the answers, which made the Prince suspect the sincerity of that which he received. All these Princes therefore resolved upon the humiliation of the King of England as a necessary prelude to the vengeance they meditated against France.

Most of the British, whom the Prince had seen in the late or the present reign, being discontented themselves, endeavoured to inspire their discontents into him. The natural jealousies between a prince in possession, and his presumptive successor; the opposition of interests and religion; the remembrance of past, and dread of future injuries, had dissolved all ties between the father and son-in-law, except those which decorum imposed, and of which perhaps that decorum made both

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* Vid. D'Avauz.

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more impatient. When James recalled the fix British regiments in the Dutch service, the Prince refused to part with them *. James ordered the officers to throw up their commissions; but few obeyed him. Skelton's son, who was an officer in one of the regiments, and had an office about the Princess, resigned his commission, but was willing to continue in his office. The Prince dismissed him, saying, "Those who will not serve the States, shall not serve the Princess †." Skelton, who had quarrelled with the Prince, who had been an officer in the French service, and who was known to hate the Dutch, was sent ambassador to France to mark James's disregard of the Prince ‡. He and the Dutch ambassador at Paris scarcely visited each other. And, upon a false report that the English ambassador had renewed the applications to the French court concerning the Prince's interests in Orange, the Prince complained of James's meddling in his affairs ††. By the accident of Monsieur Rouvigny's secretary, a French refugee, disclosing to the Prince his master's secrets of the late reign, the Prince came about this time to know all the injuries which the King and his brother had done, or intended against him or

* Gazettes 1687. Books of privy-council, 14th March 1687-8.

† Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, March 24. 1688, in the paper-office.

‡ Ibid. to ibid. July 9. 1687; July 10. 1688.

†† From a letter 16th July 1687, from Skelton to Lord Sunderland, in the paper-office, it appears that the Dutch ambassador at Paris had complained to Mons. de Croissy of this. Skelton repeats Croissy's surprise at the injury done by the report to Skelton, "who," said he, "never had made mention of any thing relating to his Highness, except the interceding for the President of Orange, and the members of that principality; and that after such a manner, that he plainly saw, it was not a thing the King took much to heart."

Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, 13th Jan. 1687, and others.

or his country *; a circumstance which increased present differences, by the recollection of ancient ones. But above all, the pregnancy of the Queen, and the birth of the Prince of Wales, gave motion to the usual phlegm of the Prince's temper. Before that event, he had avoided a rupture, because, in the course of nature, the prospect of the Princess's succession was not distant, and by hastening too much, he might disappoint it altogether : But now he saw that prospect removed to a still more remote and more uncertain day.

The Prince knew with pleasure, at this time, that the minds of his countrymen were equally hostile with his own to the Kings of France and of England. Louis XIV. had lately attacked the interests of the two greatest branches of the Dutch manufacture and fishery, by prohibiting the entry of the woven fabrics and the herrings of Holland into France. And when he repealed the edict of Nantes, he refused † to permit the Dutch Protestants in France to retire with their effects to their own country. A great number, however, made their escape, and were accompanied with a still greater of French refugees. As there is a pleasure in relating past sufferings, and hearing them related, both these classes of men spread through Holland accounts of the miseries they had endured in France, for the cause of their religion ; and, when the Prince, from political views, received many of them into the troops ; and the Dutch, from sentiments of generosity, made provisions for others ; those who came next from France exaggerated the misfortunes from which they had escaped, in order to be entitled to the same bounty. The gazettes were filled,
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* *Vide* Blanchard's memorial in Review, chap. 1.

† D'Avaux.

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the pulpits resounded with the cruelties of persecutions in France; and pictures were every where in the hands of the rich, and engravings in those of the poor, which represented the tortures used against those who stood stedfast to the religion of their fathers. Louis XIV. by an ill-timed piece of spleen, united the interests of the Prince and of religion when he seized the revenues of the principality of Orange, and bestowed them upon one whose sons had taken refuge in Holland on account of their religion. Fagel, the pensionary of Holland, by a well-timed fiction, on the other hand, united the causes of the Kings of France and England, when, in the beginning of the year 1687, he assured his countrymen in their councils, that these two Princes were in a league, with united fleets, soon to attack them*. Touched already in their tenderest parts, their religion and commerce at home, and hearing of the advances to the establishment of Popery in England, the Dutch considered the Protestant cause in England to be that of the Protestants in Holland, and already, in imagination, beheld themselves surrounded with enemies and persecutors. The merchants threatened to massacre those who had shown themselves averse from the interests of the Prince: The clergy animated the people in his cause: All opposition of party ceased; and all his countrymen looked up to him as the only person who could a second time preserve his country from ruin†.

Even from the dangers which surrounded Holland, the Prince knew he could derive the advantage of preparing armaments, without raising suspicion that England was their object. The Dutch were already at war with the Algerines,

* D'Avaux, 17th Jan 7th March 1686. et passim. Sir William Trumball's letters to Lord Sunderland, July 17-27, 1685-6, in the paper-office.

† D'Avaux,

Algerines, whose fleets were cruizing on their coasts. They had the prospect of a war with Denmark, and which the Prince of Orange pretended to be more certain than it was. The French had put a fleet to sea, which the Prince gave out was intended to intercept the Spanish plate-ships coming from the Indies*, and to attack Cadiz, in both of which the Dutch had great riches. Their ambassadors had been treated by the French court with a haughtiness, which republicans are of all men the least capable of bearing†. The King of England was preparing a great navy, more from his love of naval affairs, than from a view to make any use of it; yet he had lately sent some angry messages to the States, concerning the old affair of Bantam, and the reception given in Holland to those who had been in rebellion against him. These things pointed out to the Dutch the necessity of an armament at sea. And the measures which France was at this time taking to put the cardinal of Furstemburgh in possession of the electorate of Cologne, convinced them, that there was an equal necessity of increasing their land-forces.

The Prince knew, that at this time, a great part of the British subjects was dissatisfied with the conduct of their sovereign; and that even the English army and navy, which are commonly the last to desert the support of that authority which commands and maintains them, were unsettled in their allegiance: He considered that he had a veteran army of the best troops in Europe to combat against an army so affected, new raised, not disciplined, and unacquainted with war; that in such an attempt his whole force would act together, whereas that of the King

* Ibid. 1686, and Sir William Trumball's correspondence in the paper-office.

† Sir William Trumball to Lord Sunderland, 29th June 1706, in the paper-office.

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King of England must necessarily be dispersed to make head against different insurrections in different places; that England being open, unprovided with forts, and the seat of its government defenceless, and within a few days march of the sea, the war could not be protracted to teach war by experience to the English, but must be ended by a single battle; and that the very boldness of the enterprize, in one of his usual caution, would strike universal terror into an enemy astonished, distracted, suspecting, and who had reason for suspicion.

Whether the Prince intended by his enterprize only to enquire into the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, to reconcile the King to his people, and to engage both in a war against France, or to dethrone him, and take the direction of that war to himself, is only known to that God who is the searcher of hearts. It is probable he resolved to direct himself by events according as they should present themselves. For, as he had formerly urged on the exclusion, when seconded by one half of the nation, he fell upon the same principles, to accept the crown, if offered by the whole. Among his private papers, there is a letter to him from the Elector of Brandenburg, which makes it not improbable, that his elevation to the throne of England, had been in contemplation, at an interview between these two princes a little time before the revolution*.

The prince's
movements
in England.

But, as it was to England herself that the Prince chiefly trusted for success, he was extremely solicitous, before he took his final resolution, to know, with certainty, the reception he was to expect in that country. The papers to

* *Vide* the Elector of Brandenburg's letter, of date 27th February 1689, in Appendix, to this Book. It is in King William's cabinet.

to which the author of these Memoirs has had access in King William's cabinet, and in the *Depot des Affaires Etrangères* at Versailles, has enabled him to give an account of the intrigues by which the Revolution was brought about, with precision and certainty. The Prince had declined taking any part, as long as the breach was forming between the King and the Church, only by letters privately encouraging those with whom he had interest, to stand firm to their religion*. But, after Lord Rochester was removed from the head of the administration in England, and Ireland was committed to the hands of the Earl of Tyrconnel, the Prince found it necessary to assume a less ambiguous conduct. For, the King having sent Albeville ambassador to the States, under pretence of removing differences between him and them, but with private instructions to sound if the Prince of Orange could be brought to the abolition of the tests, the Prince took advantage of the fears excited by Fagel's intimation of an approaching war with England and France †, to prevail with the States to send an embassy-extraordinary into England. The ambassador chosen was Dykvelt, ancestor to the Earl of Holderness, one of the three who had been sent ambassadors in the year 1672, to beg peace from the late King; and who had at that time, formed the most extensive connections with the whig-party in England. His public instructions from the States were to demand an explanation of the King's armaments, and of the angry messages he had sent them. But his private instructions from the Prince were to give a positive refusal to the King's desires about the tests,

by

* *Vide*, Letters from Lord Halifax to the Prince, who had asked his opinion, Appendix. No. II.

† D'Avaux. Burnet.

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by the vigour and merit of that refusal to unite the heads of parties in England, and to assure them of the Prince's protection in defence of their religion and liberties; and the Prince wrote letters by him to the Lords Rochester, Danby, Halifax, and several others. Dykvelt arrived in February 1687, and remained in England four months. An embassy-extraordinary from Holland to the King, created at first a suspicion in the friends of liberty, that it was intended to bring about a reconciliation between the Prince and the King*. But Dykvelt soon undeceived them. To the Church of England, he, in the Prince's name, promised supreme attention; to the dissenters, the friendship which might be expected from brothers in religion; oblivion for what was past to those who had concurred in the King's measures; and liberty to all.

Dykvelt received encouragement from almost all those to whom he applied; but most from the Tories, from whom he expected least; but who, upon this occasion, discovered that they and their opponents in party had hitherto differed, not so much about the right to resist, as about the degree of provocation, which justified resistance; but he received least encouragement from the Princess of Orange's uncles, from whom he might have expected most. Lord Rochester, in his answer to the Prince, avoided entering upon business, under pretence of his retirement from it, and Lord Clarendon's letter was one of mere compliment. Lord Danby, provoked by bad usage and neglect, and accustomed to great dangers, and from thence to despise them, in his answer to the Prince's letter, with
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† On this occasion Lady Sunderland wrote a letter to the Prince, to be found in the Appendix to this book; of the mysteriousness and affectation of which the reader will form what opinion he pleases. The letter is in King William's cabinet.

the decision of a man of business, proposed a personal conference between some of the Prince's friends in England and the Prince, *for the making* (as he expressed it) *of some overtures which would be of use to the Prince's service.* But Lord Halifax, with that undetermination of spirit which commonly makes literary men of no use to the world, took advantage of this proposal to say, that he could not explain his intentions at second hand *.

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The King having become dissatisfied with Dykvelt's conduct, the Prince was obliged to recall him. But the Prince soon after took advantage of the Queen's having notified to him the death of her mother the Duchess of Modena, to send over Count Zuleistein, ancestor to the Earl of Rochford, with compliments of condolence; a person the more dangerous, because, under the appearance of a man of pleasure and a soldier, he hid great talents for business, and because he was entitled to a degree of confidence from the English malcontents proportioned to his near relation to the Prince. He arrived in August 1687, a time the more judiciously chosen, because it was known that the King was soon to set out upon a progress through the western counties. Zuleistein remained three weeks in England, continuing those intrigues amid feasts and revels, which Dykvelt had begun in privacy and gloom. The Prince, who knew well that the legal and constitutional mode of relief was by parliament, and that whilst there were hopes of it, all other modes were improper, gave him particular instructions to find out, from those whom he consulted, whether there was any probability that the King, who had just dissolved his parliament, would call a new one. The letters which Zuleistein carried from England assured him that there was no chance of it †.

* Vide the correspondence connected with Dykvelt, in the Appendix to this Book, No. III. It is in King William's cabinet.

† Vide the correspondence connected with Zuleistein, in Appendix to this Book, No. IV. It is in King William's cabinet.

1688.

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A few months after, the Prince took a more public way to gain popularity with those to whom he could not privately address himself, but without appearing to affect it James; had employed Stuart, Lord Melfort's secretary, whom Fagel, on account of the eminence of his parts, had long honoured with his friendship, to prevail with Fagel to advise the Prince and Princess to join their interests with the King's for the abolition of the tests and penal laws. Fagel, upon this, wrote in the Prince's name to Stuart, "That the Prince was willing to concur in any laws for liberty of conscience; but that he would never consent to the repeal of the tests, which, by confining public offices to those of the national religion, were the surest barriers against popery." A declaration of sentiments which pleased the Church of England, gained the dissenters, and, if it provoked the Roman Catholics, provoked those only whom the Prince knew to be already his enemies. The letter was instantly printed and dispersed through every part of Holland and of the British dominions. Stuart, in a publication, denied that the correspondence was authorised by the King, but in a way which betrayed that it was *.

But the petition and imprisonment of the Bishops set the spirits of men, which were moving only slowly before, in a ferment in an instant. After that period, the connection of the Prince of Orange with the friends of liberty was carried on chiefly by Admiral Russel, created afterwards Earl of Orford, and Henry Sidney, created afterwards Earl of Romney, brother to the famous and unfortunate Algernoon Sidney, until the birth of the Prince of Wales †.

* Three years after Stuart was made Lord Advocate for Scotland by King William, upon Sir John Dalrymple's being appointed secretary of state.

Fagel's Letter is dated in January 1688, and D'Avaux mentions the publication in his letter of 8th January that year.

† The correspondence between the time of Dykvelt's return to Holland and the petition of the Bishops, which is in King William's cabinet, is to be found in the Appendix, No. VI.

But upon this last event, the careless unsuspected air of Count Zuleistein was a second time made choice of for an embassy to England. Under the pretence of being sent to felicitate the King upon the birth of the young Prince, he returned in a few weeks, with pressing solicitations from many of the most considerable persons in Britain to come over with an armed force, in order to call his legitimacy in question *. The original association, for which the Prince long waited, and without which he determined not to go, is in King William's cabinet: It is dated 30th June 1688, and is signed by Lord Devonshire, Lord Danby, Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, the Bishop of London, Admiral Russell, and Mr. Sidney. Immortal seven, to whom Britain owes her present liberty and grandeur †. It is difficult to name with certainty all the other persons who invited the Prince into England; and to name a few, might appear to detract from the honour of the rest, though unjustly: For, while other great revolutions of state have been the consequence of long intrigue, or the effects of instant revenge, the favour which the Prince's enterprise found in Britain sprang from the impulse of reason and liberty; an impulse which affected almost the whole nation, though all had it not equally in their power to contribute to his success. But it is certain that the following persons are those who at this great period exerted themselves most effectually in the service of the Prince. The Admirals Russell and Herbert, the one prompted by revenge for the death of his cousin Lord Russell, and the other by family-pride and his own spirit, spread discontents among the

* The correspondence, from the time of the bishops presenting their petition in the middle of May 1688, till the beginning of August, when Mr. Sidney went finally to Holland, and Count Zuleistein returned to it, relative to their intrigues, is to be found in the Appendix, No. VII. The papers are in King William's cabinet.

† Vide Appendix, No. VII.

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English seamen, contributing thus to remove from the minds of the Dutch the only terror they had in invading England. Russel, at this important crisis, submitted to the duties of a messenger, sailing often between England and Holland, to preserve the communication between the parties of both countries. Lord Mordaunt, with the impetuosity of mind which carried him in a succeeding reign triumphantly through Spain, was the first * of the English nobility who quitted England, attached himself to the Prince, and pressed him to an expedition into England: Yet with that singularity of character which made him do every thing in a different way from every other man, the method he took to join the Prince was, by accepting the command of a Dutch squadron to the West Indies, and returning in it to Holland. He was followed by Lord Shrewsbury, who threw up his regiment, mortgaged his estate for 40,000*l.* and offered his sword and fortune to the Prince. With more art Lord Danby managed the Prince's interests with the Tories, the Bishop of London with the church, and the Earl of Devonshire †, known formerly by the name of Lord Cavendish, but more by his generous friendship for the unfortunate Lord Russel, with many of the Whigs. The Earl of Manchester waited on the Prince, and returned to make preparations for his arrival. Danby's son, Lord Dumblain, who had a frigate of his own, employed it in carrying money, and, what was more valuable, his father's counsels, into Holland. The Marquis of Winchester sent his two sons to attend him on his voyage, judging with a Roman and with an English spirit, that it was just the fate of his family and of his country should go together. Inflamed by the example, his nephew, Mr. Howe, joined the Prince, and carried many letters with him from England.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 762.

† Duke of Devonshire's patent in Collins, p. 325.

Lord Danby and Lord Devonshire insinuated suspicions of the birth of the Prince of Wales, to the Prince and Princess. The Princess Anne, in some expressions of her letters to her sister, confirmed those suspicions, while yet in others, she betrayed a tenderness for her brother; proving this solid truth in the history of the human mind, that although a woman may sometimes lose principle, she seldom loses sentiment*. But Herbert was the first †, who, with the bluntness of a seaman, pressed the Prince of Orange to lay aside ceremony, and attack the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. After his arrival, which was in the month of July, in the year 1688 ‡, the Prince of Wales was prayed for no longer in the Prince of Orange's chapel. The honour of suggesting to the Prince that the fame and abilities of Marechal Schomberg should be called to his assistance, is due to Lord Mountagu, so remarkable in a former period of these Memoirs for his intrigues with France; he suggested it to Sidney, and Sidney to the Prince §. Lord Drumlanrig ¶, son to the Duke of Queensberry, and Sir John Dalrymple, son to Lord Stair, the one at London, the other at Edinburgh, managed the intercourse with their own countrymen. The Earl of Argyle, though an exile, and attainted, prepared his own tribe to fight against a family which had put the father and grandfather of their chieftain to death. The Duke of Queensberry's brother, General Douglass, who commanded the Scotch army, engaged either to shake its loyalty, or to render that loyalty ineffectual. Mr. Fletcher, of Salton, who was then serving as a volunteer in Hungary, hastened to Holland, and, without being solicited, or soliciting others, was ready with his

* Vide the Princess Anne's letters in the Appendix to this Book, No. VIII.
† D'Avaux.
‡ Ibid. 20th July, 22d July.

§ Vide Sidney's letter of June 30, 1688, in Appendix to this Book, and Mountagu's letter to the Prince, of May 18, 1694, in a subsequent part of these Memoirs.
¶ Lord Balcarras.

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BOOK V.

1682.

sword, because he thought it his duty to draw it. Lord Stair sent over gentlemen prudent, long tried, and faithful, from Holland to Scotland *, to keep up the connection between the two countries. He was, above all others of the Scotch, trusted by the Prince of Orange, because, in the late reign, he had withstood equally the threats and the promises of Chudleigh, the English ambassador in Holland †. Henry Sidney, after conducting every step of party in England and in Holland, prepared now to share or to revenge his brother's fate. Many of the old whigs lavished their money ‡ in a cause for which their party had formerly shed their blood. Hampden exposed himself anew to the judgment of the law on the side of liberty. It was once proposed to communicate the secret to the Lord Chamberlain Mulgrave. After the Prince of Orange came to the throne, he told this to Mulgrave, and asked him, What he would have done, if he had been applied to? Mulgrave generously answered, "I would have told it to the master whom I then served." The Prince, with equal generosity replied, "I could not have blamed you §." Many discontented lords and gentlemen, who had retired from England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the Continent, flocked to the Prince. All those who had been driven from any of these countries, in the late or the present reign, justly or unjustly, joined them; some, to attain the reward of their virtues, others, to procure the oblivion of their crimes. The persons who were thought to have conferred the greatest obligations upon the Prince of Orange, were Lord and Lady Sunderland, and Lord and Lady Churchill: The two former, because one of them imparted the King's secrets to

* Lord Stair's Vindication.

† Chudleigh's letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Hague, 20th August 1683, in the paper-office.

‡ D'Avaux, September 1682.

§ Duke of Buckingham, vol. 2. p. 85. Clarendon's Diary.

his uncle Henry Sidney, who resided with the Prince, and the other to the Princess of Orange; and the two latter, because they persuaded the Prince and Princess of Denmark * to join in a communication of measures with him. Lord Churchill had been raised by the King, from the station of a page at court, to a high command in the army, a large fortune, and a peerage; so that his conduct has, by some, been imputed to the height of principle, and, by others, to the total want of it. But, perhaps, the man who conferred the greatest obligations of all upon the Prince of Orange at the critical time of the Revolution itself, was the Duke of Grafton. He had asked the command of the fleet in place of Lord Dartmouth, but James had refused his request. Either irritated by this, or inflamed with the love of liberty, he went privately to the fleet, and obtained a promise from two thirds of the captains, that they would not oppose the Prince of Orange, and informed the Prince of what he had done †. Mr. Bing, created for his naval services in a maturer age, Earl of Torrington, was the person, then a youth, and a lieutenant in the navy, to whose prudence the Duke of Ormond and General Kirk committed the care of gaining those officers of the fleet to whom the Duke of Grafton had not opened himself. It was concerted, that as soon as the Prince landed in England, his friends should disperse into their several counties, to raise insurrections, and distract the common enemy. All these persons kept the secret firm to each other.

Yet, amid these great and dangerous intrigues and concerts, human nature gave way to her usual weakness.

* Clarendon's Diary.

† The Duke of Grafton told this circumstance to Lord Dover, and he to King James. It is confirmed in part by a letter at Versailles from Barillon to his court, dated 6th November 1688; in which he says, that the Duke of Grafton had asked leave to go down to the fleet as a volunteer under Lord Dartmouth, and was there then.

PART I. As men who enjoy the highest spirits are the most subject
BOOK V. to low ones, Lord Mordaunt was the first who betrayed
 1688. doubts of success to the Prince *. Mr. Sidney, on the
 very day on which he signed the association of Seven, and
 whose imagination was, perhaps on account of that act,
 the more struck with the dangers in which he was involv-
 ing his friend and his master, wrote to the Prince in a
 strain of alternate fears and hopes †. The secret of an
 invasion was opened, at a distance, by Sidney to Lord
 Halifax; but he pretended not to understand Sidney's
 meaning, and employed himself in writing dissertations
 on the state of affairs, to a Prince who had always loved
 deeds more than words, and needed them now more than
 ever; after which the Prince gave orders to trust him no
 further ‡. Lord Nottingham || once engaged, but after-
 wards drew back, acknowledging to his friends, that they
 had a right to take away the life of that person who was
 now become master of theirs: But, by a delicacy of ho-
 nour in all points, he preserved his respect to the King,
 by not quitting him; and to his friends, by not betraying
 them. It is reported, that Lord Cuts, upon seeing him
 go to court, where he had not been for some time, pro-
 posed to dispatch him; but Lord Danby prevented the
 intention, saying, "Lord Nottingham is the only man in
 " England who can appear at court, and yet not discover
 " the concern he is under."

His secret
 preparations
 in Holland.

But the Prince, not daunted by the variations in Lord
 Mordaunt's opinions; or the anxieties of Sidney; or the
 learned indolence of Halifax; or the sudden failure in the
 nerves of Lord Nottingham; kept on straight forward
 and steady in his course. Having resolved to make his

* Vide his letter in Appendix to this Book.

† Vide his letter, ditto.

‡ Burnet, Clarendon's Diary, Duke of Buckingham.

|| Burnet, vol. i. 764.

expedition into England in the ensuing winter, because that season would make it difficult for France to attack his own country during his absence, he began his preparations with the new year. The first six months were spent in providing money, armaments at home, and alliances with neighbouring states, for the security of the Dutch frontiers: Provisions, all of which bore a natural relation to the defence of Holland, without pointing out any intention of an attack upon England. As the fortifications on the side of Brabant were in need of repairs, the Prince procured from the States a credit of four millions of gilders for that service, payable by annual proportions, in four years*. But taking advantage of the flow of money into Holland, which attended the flight of the French refugees, he made use of the credit to raise all the fund in one year; after which he contrived, that difficulties should be started, in applying and proportioning the money to the fortresses. In the same way † he diverted to his own use another fund, nearly equal in value, which had been destined by the States for another purpose. And, instead of collecting the revenues of the admiralty, as had been formerly done, he farmed them out, in order to establish a new bottom of credit. He prevailed on the States to equip forty ships of war against the Algerines, and secretly added twelve to them by his own authority. Some time before, he had made a more important attempt, by a demand upon the King of England to send twenty English ships of war into the Dutch harbours, to be ready for the same service, according to an old treaty between the two nations, but which that Prince avoided to comply with. The Dutch ships as fast as got ready, were sent out to different stations remote from England, with orders to remain there for some time, and then to return:

* D'Avaux.

† D'Avaux, 15 October, 27 July, 1688.

PART I.
BOOK V.

1688.

A stratagem which concealed equally the greatness of the armament, and its object. Under pretence of protecting the electorate of Cologne, he encamped an army at Nimeguen, part of which could fall from thence down to the sea, in a few days. Under pretence of adjusting the confederacy against France, the Prince, or his favourite Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland, conferred personally with the Elector of Brandenburg, who was flattered with the prospect of the survivance of the Stadtholdership for his son; with the Elector of Saxony; the Landgrave of Hesse; the Princes of the house of Lunenburg; other German Princes; and the governor of the Spanish Netherlands. It was agreed, that the Germans should replace with their own troops upon the Rhine, those which the Prince was to carry with him into England; and that the Spanish forces should protect the Dutch frontier on the side of the Netherlands, and garrison their towns. Seven thousand Swedes were hired to be transported into Holland*. During these movements, the Elector of Brandenburg died; but with his last breath † recommended the Prince's undertaking to his son. Bentinck was sent to sound the new Elector, and found him more sanguine than even his father had been. The Prince entrusted his design only to those personages, or their ministers, and to four of his own countrymen.†. All these, though foreigners, kept the secret as profoundly as the English malecontents, who saw their ruin in a discovery, had done. The King of England believed the Prince's preparations were intended against France. The King of France sometimes thought they

* D'Avaux, *passim*.

† Memoirs of Brandenburg by the late King of Prussia.

‡ D'Avaux, 10 September, 1688. Burnet. Verace's letter to Skelton, in the paper-office, confirms this. He says, "Seulement quatre personnes en ont eu tout le detail, et plusieurs autres en ont vu quelques particularités."

were directed against Denmark, and, at other times, against the liberties of the Prince's own country.

PART I.
BOOK V.

1688.

But the deepest stroke of the Prince's policy, was his art in deluding the Pope, Innocent XI. Taking advantage of that pontiff's animosity against France, he made him believe, that the Emperor was to send a great army to the Rhine, that he, the Prince, was to join it with one equally great, from Holland, and march at the head of both into France. For the advancement of this project, great sums were remitted by the Pope to the Emperor; and these sums thus got from the head of the Roman Catholic world, were employed in the dethronement of a Roman Catholic King *. It required less art to deceive the Emperor, because he wished to be deceived. The Prince wrote him a letter, in which he assured him, that he had no intention to assume the crown of England, and the Emperor believed, or pretended to believe him †.

But, after the Prince had employed the first half of the year in this manner, he was obliged, in his remaining preparations, to take steps which shewed he meditated an important invasion, and that he expected assistance in the country against which it was intended. Numbers of transports were hired, and flat-boats for disembarkation built: Arms were prepared for vast bodies of foot; and saddles, bridles, and boots for cavalry: Magazines of hay were slung in ropes in the sea-ports, to be ready for putting on board in a minute ‡: Great trains of artillery were gathered from the different towns. Though the Prince could not form new bodies of troops or mariners, without the sanction of the States, he gave directions for engaging 7000 soldiers, and 9000 sailors, to be ready as soon as that sanction should be procured: An extraordi-

His more
public pre-
parations.

* Vide Appendix to this Book, No. IX.

† Vide Appendix to this Book, No. X.

‡ D'Avaux.

PART I.
BOOK V.

1688.

nary measure, which marked an extraordinary design. In proportion as the autumn wore on, his preparations of all kinds became more rapid, and more open; a sure sign, that he thought he had little time to lose*. But, above all, when Marshal Scomberg from Germany suddenly appeared in September, to join in command with the Prince, all men who saw him were satisfied, that the design undertaken was worthy of such generals.

Yet, even during this period, every art was contrived to conceal and distract. The vessels were hired, or bought, in different ports, and under pretence of different adventures in trade; and were continually ordered to shift their stations. The arms, ammunition, accoutrements, and artillery, were put into boats, and sent up towards Nimeguen. Some of those boats landed their contents, and returned, but their loadings were brought secretly back, in vessels which had been sent up empty, under other pretences; others of them lay concealed among the islands which are formed by the Rhine and the Maese; and others fell down to the sea, by different routs from those by which they had mounted.

James kept
in the dark.

While these clouds, which had been gathering from one end of Europe to the other, were ready to burst upon the head of the King of England, he alone continued long unconscious of his danger, interesting himself alone in reconciling the King of France with the holy see, and in the fate of a war which was then carrying on against the Infidels†. Sunderland, having the command of the foreign correspondence, concealed from him what he pleased. The Prince of Orange having differed with Chudleigh the English envoy, one White an Irishman, who had got the title of Marquis of Allbeville in Spain, had been sent ambassador to Holland; a man who re-

* D'Arroz.

† Vide Appendix to this Book, No. XI.

ceived one pension from France, and probably another from Holland, and whose talents were as mean as his mind*. Upon the resignation of Sir William Trumball, Skelton had been sent ambassador to France, a man faithful indeed to his master; but who, while envoy in Holland, had quarrelled with the Dutch, and had been driven in a manner from their country†; circumstances which, together with his poverty‡, put it out of his power to maintain intelligence in that country. D'Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, gave information from time to time of what he observed, to his own court, and to Barillon the French ambassador at London: But the French court, not displeased to see discord arising between two protestant nations, who were both enemies to France, and between James and his son-in-law, took little notice of his informations§; and Barillon, desirous that the King should be obliged to ask the assistance of his master, informed him not of all his danger. D'Avaux gave warning also to some in the court of England, but in vain; for, when Sunderland was told of his letters, he treated them § as visionary. When James heard that the Prince of Wales was not prayed for in the Prince of

* D'Avaux, 10th October and 13th February, 1686, says, he got Allbeville his pension from France, and there are a number of Allbeville's letters to the French court in the *Depot des Affaires Etrangères* at Versailles. Many of D'Avaux's letters make it probable that he acted in the Dutch interest against his master. There are a great number of his letters in the Paper office. These shew, that he was at first an intelligencer to the ministry from Brussels, under the name of Baron de Vacey, a title he got from the Emperor. He appears to have been miserably poor. He solicits an addition of £. 100 a-year to his Irish pension. His letters are ill-spelt, full of false grammar, vanity, and weakness, and his hand is scarce legible. I observe, that his letters to Lord Sunderland in the year 1687 or 1688 are not in the Paper-office.

† Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, 13th January, and 9th July, 1687, in the Paper-office.

‡ This appears from his correspondence.

§ D'Avaux, in many letters, complains strongly of this.

§ D'Avaux.

Orange's

1688.

Orange's chapel, he wrote a letter complaining of it to the Princess: She gave an answer so late as the 17th of August, in which she imputed what was complained of to neglect; and her letter was calculated, in other respects, to dispel all jealousy from the mind of her father. Kennedy, a Scotchman, Lord Conservator of the Scotch privileges at Middleburg, came over to London in August to inform the King of what he saw, but could not obtain an audience. Citters, the Dutch ambassador *, gave him all the while the most solemn assurances that the Prince's preparations were not intended against him. Castagnana, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, acted the same part. Verace, of Geneva, who had been steward to the Princess of Orange, while the intrigues of the revolution were carrying on, wrote two letters from Geneva to Skelton in August 1688, which gave information of the intrigue of the Prince, the Princess, Bentinck, and Lord Sunderland. Skelton transmitted the letters; but Sunderland shewed them not to his master †. But that which, above all things, blinded the King, was the natural aversion of the human mind to give faith to news fatal to its peace.

* D'Avaux.

† The second of Verace's letters, dated Geneva, 15th August 1688, is in the Paper-office. The other, though referred to in Skelton's dispatch to Lord Sunderland, is not in that office. The second letter contains these words: " Si j'avois a le dire, cela ne seroit qu' au Roy meme, parce que cela interesse S. A. R. aussi bien que le Prince et Mons. de Bentinck, *et encore un troisieme en chef*. Il est vrai que cela interesse beaucoup plus ces deux derniers, *et encore un troisieme en chef*, sans conter plusieurs autres."

Skelton's letter of date 28 August 1688, contain these words: " I am just now extremely alarmed by a discourse in town, spread by Mons. Villars and Nangi, who came last night from Versailles, and say, that there then arrived a courier from Mons. D'Avaux, from the Hague, which brought news, that the Prince of Orange was embarking with 6000 men for England, and had taken arms for 14 more. I cannot believe it, nor can I get an answer from Mons. De Croissy, before the going away of the post, to whom I have sent to know the truth."

At

At last, in the middle of September *, James received the most certain information of the intended invasion, with all its most alarming circumstances, by a letter from Louis XIV. He turned pale and stood motionless: The letter dropped from his hand: His past errors, his future dangers, rushed at once upon his thoughts; he strove to conceal his perturbation, but, in doing so, betrayed it; and his courtiers, in affecting not to observe him, betrayed that they did.

PART I.
BOOK V.

1688.

At last gets
intelligence
of the in-
tended in-
vasion.

The French King, about the same time, sent Bon Repos, one of his courtiers, with pressing offers to join the French to the English fleet, to land a force in England, and to create a diversion by an attack upon Holland: Offers similar to some which Barillon had formerly made, but in a manner which shewed that he had not expected they were to be received. All advised James to reject the assistance: Some, because they were his friends; some, because they were his enemies; many, because they had no inclination to see England made a theatre for the French and Dutch to combat upon. But †, above all, Sunderland: He remonstrated to the King, “ If the
“ French sent over a small force, it would serve only to
“ irritate his subjects, without aiding him; if a great
“ one, it might subdue his people and himself. His
“ army and navy, whose discontents had already appear-
“ ed, would never serve heartily with papists and with
“ Frenchmen, and perhaps might turn their arms against
“ their new allies. All the troubles of his brother’s
“ reign had arisen from his connections with France,
“ and his breaches with Holland: If an attack should be
“ made upon Holland to serve him, it would confirm a
“ suspicion, entertained by too many, that he had formed

Offers of
French as-
sistance.

* The first public intimation of the intended invasion is in the Gazette, October 1.

† Sunderland’s apology.

“ a league

PART I.
BOOK IV.

1688.

“ a league with France, for the destruction of the protestant religion and the liberties of England.” James saw equal danger in accepting or refusing, in exposing himself to rebellion from his subjects, or to obligations from his neighbours. National glory, and his pride, prevailed; and he refused protection from a power, the hereditary enemy of his own: Yet, as soon as he had done so, he repented; and, concealing the measure from all, even from Sunderland, he wrote to the French King, intreating him to keep a fleet of ships of war ready at Brest.

The letters of the actors of the times are the best vouchers of the truth of history. Barillon's dispatches at Versailles discover a train of deceit pursued by Lord Sunderland during the preparations for the revolution, that is almost unparalleled in the history of mankind. To gain the confidence of his master, he entered into a project for breaking the act of settlement in Ireland. To gain the confidence of his master and of France together, he adopted a project, which Lord Tyrconnel had suggested, for recalling the six British regiments in the Dutch service, and forming such of the officers and men as were Roman Catholics into regiments in the French service, but subject to be transported into England when the interest of their master required it. But, unknown to France, he threw obstacles in the way of this recall; and yet, besides his ordinary pension of 60,000 livres, got an extraordinary gratification of 30,000 livres from France at this time for his services. And when the Prince of Orange refused, as Sunderland could not fail to know he would, to allow the British soldiers to quit his service, and Louis chose rather to maintain English regiments in England than in France, Sunderland conducted an agreement between the two Kings, in consequence of which (a fact in history hitherto unknown and unsuspected), towards the end of the

the reign of King James, there were kept on foot in England three popish regiments regularly paid by France. When Sunderland prevailed with his master to refuse the assistance of a French fleet, he took care, under pretence of intimidating the Dutch; that the offer should be made public, contriving thus to draw upon him all the odium of a connexion with France, without his deriving any benefit from it. For these services he got, besides his ordinary pension of 60,000 livres from France, a gratification of 30,000 livres.

PART I.
BOOK V.

1688.

The French court, in the spring of the year 1688, had asked James to fit out a fleet to support Denmark. Sunderland long opposed the measure, under the pretence that it would involve England in a quarrel with Holland. But when he found he could oppose no longer with success, because his master's inclinations were gained by an offer of France to maintain that fleet, he made a merit to Barillon of his having influenced those inclinations, and asked another extraordinary gratification for having done so: Thus, by a refinement in profligacy, deceiving Barillon into an opinion, that the person who was capable of repeating such mean applications for himself, was incapable of any great and dangerous enterprise for another. Barillon having counselled James, in the beginning of September 1688, to send for the Irish army to defend him, Sunderland at first opposed the measure, speciously alleging, "that it would alarm England; that the troops could not arrive in time enough to oppose the Prince if he should make an attempt; that Ireland ought not to be left defenceless, because the Prince perhaps intended to land there; and that, at any rate, the consent of parliament should be waited for:" And in the end, contrived that the troops should not arrive till it was too late for them to be of any use to their master. But the grossest of all Sunderland's artifices to impose upon King James, was

PART I.
BOOK V.

1688.

Officers cashiered for
refusing
popish re-
cruits,

his chusing to make a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion in July 1688, at a time when he knew the Prince of Orange was coming to England to remove all those who professed it from all objects of ambition. He concluded the whole of his hypocrisy, when the Prince of Orange was ready to sail, by begging a refuge in France from the dangers he pretended to dread from the Prince of Orange, though he had privately resolved to take refuge in Holland*.

Whilst the King's mind was preying upon itself, and boding evil from its state of uncertainty, an accident happened, which might have given him a prescience of what was to come. His natural son, the Duke of Berwick, had given orders to receive a band of Irish popish recruits into his regiment †. The Lieutenant-colonel Beaumont, and five captains, Paston, Parke, Orme, Cook, and Port, remonstrated to the Duke, that it was inconsistent with their honour to receive them; and asked leave to resign, if their scruples could not be complied with. The King, who was then at Windsor, being informed of this by express, sent a guard of horse for the officers, and cashiered them. The spirit of the officers inflamed the army with emulation, and their punishment with resentment. After his flight into France, James often averred, that Lord Churchill had urged him to inflict death upon their mutiny.

James
makes ad-
vances to
the church.

As it is natural for men in fear to be afraid of those whom they have offended, James gave orders for taking off the Bishop of London's suspension: He invited such of the bishops as were in town to confer with him upon the state of his affairs. But here his spirits failed him; their appearance threw him into confusion; and he dismissed them with some general expressions of civility.

* Vide Appendix to this Book, No. XI.

† Clarendon's Diary, Sept. 12, L. K. W. v. 3. p. 321.

The bishops, however, who were most of them sincerely attached to monarchy, and who were desirous to restore the King to the nation, if he could be restored to the church, presented a plan of advices for the settlement of the nation. In these, they counselled him to put the government of the counties into the hands of protestants; to annul the ecclesiastical commission, and never renew it; to restore the president and fellows of Magdalen college; to grant no dispensations in church or state, or the universities, or the schools; to allow the dispute concerning the dispensing power to be settled in parliament; to inhibit the four vicars apostolical; to fill the ecclesiastical vacancies; and, as the Archbishop of Canterbury suggested, the chair of York with one of their own number; to stop the prosecutions of *quo warrantos*; and to restore to corporations their ancient rights; to call a parliament; and finally, to permit the bishops to lay before him such arguments as might restore him to the communion of the church of England.

These wise counsels, but to the King bitter, he received with thanks, and promises of compliance. The new friendship of the bishops with the King, brought resentment upon them, without taking any off him. The dissenters complained that their interests had not been mentioned at all by the bishops in their petition. The Prince of Orange's partizans exclaimed, that they were betrayed by such of the bishops as had been associated with them; the more violent whigs, that the church was always willing to give up the cause of the people, if her own interests were secured; and many of the church of England, that the bishops were the dupes of their own credulity. Men zealous for the constitution asked, Upon what principle the prelates, in place of the lords and commons, were called to settle the nation?

PART I.
BOOK V.

1688.

James was pleased to see divisions arise, even from accident, among those whom he dreaded had been united against him: Unhappy satisfaction to a Prince, over whom invasion and rebellion impended. He hastened his reconciliation with the church; he doubled his attentions to the bishops; he followed the advices they had given him, as fast as the time and the forms of office would allow. Among other things, having received intelligence that the restoration of the charter of the city of London was to have been one of the articles of the petition of the bishops, he ordered it to be restored before the petition was presented. Jeffreys carried it in great pomp to Guildhall. But the sight of the man who had been the cause of the disgrace of the city, took away the merit of the concession in the eyes of the citizens. Sunderland* urged James to those acts of grace, either to gain popularity to himself, or to convince his master of his zeal for his service, or to shew the King's enemies the pusillanimity of the King.

Prepara-
tions of
James.

James made preparations in the mean time for his defence, with the vigour of his former life. He increased his army and his navy, the one to 40,000 men, the other to sixty-one ships, of which thirty-eight were of the line. Commissions were issued for raising bodies of men, to those persons of rank who offered him their services; a generous, but pernicious measure; for several asked the power of raising men, who had resolved to employ them against him. The militia was ordered to be embodied; another fatal measure to an unpopular Prince. Strickland having been removed from the command of the fleet, because he was unpopular, and Lord Dartmouth, who was the idol of the seamen, placed at its head, the King stationed it at the Gunfleet, off Har-

* Sunderland's Apology.

wich, to wait for the Dutch. He drew almost all his forces towards the capital, leaving only a sufficiency to guard the keys of the kingdom: He ordered 3000 Irish troops to Chester, and all the troops from Scotland, which were about the same number, to Carlisle, in order to prevent insurrections in the west and the north. Lord Balcarras opposed this last measure, because he foresaw it would lose Scotland to the King; and, when his advice was not followed, he sent a scheme to Lord Mellfort's office, for applying 100,000*l.* which was at that time, by accident, in the Scots treasury, to raise the whole body of the well-affected Highlanders, and to march them into England. But the scheme was not presented to James, either because the letter was not delivered to Mellfort, or because Mellfort, who was at enmity with Balcarras, envied him the honour of the project. James ordered the cattle to be driven from the coast upon the first appearance of an enemy's fleet: He issued a proclamation against dispersing rumours, or complaining of government, in the present dangerous crisis: He was surrounded with volunteers of quality and distinction, whom, in his happier hours, he had graced with his favours. The generous appearance of Colonel Beaumont and his five officers, to guard that honour which had been regardless of theirs, touched the mind of the King with a bitter, yet tender sensation. He was advised to seize the heads of the whig party. Some of his friends pressed him to seize Lord Churchill; and some of his enemies to seize Lord Dartmouth, upon a false charge of his being unsteady to his master; but he rejected the advice, either from generosity of mind, or to create a belief, that he feared neither open nor concealed enemies.

As soon as James received intelligence of the Prince of Orange's designs, he ordered Allbeville to demand from the States General, an explanation of the intention of

Allbeville's
memorial to
the States of
Holland.

the

PART I.
BOOK V.

1638.

the armaments which were making in Holland ; hoping that the States, for the interest of their own country, might be prevailed upon to make a distinction between the cause of the Prince of Orange, and that of Holland. About this time, Skelton, the British envoy at Paris, anxious because his master refused the assistance of France, gave a hint to Monsieur de Croissy, the French King's minister, that, if Louis would threaten the Dutch, he might serve the King of England as effectually by his authority, as he could have done by his succours. Louis was too desirous of a handle to meddle in the affairs of England, not to improve this hint. He gave orders to D'Avaux to present a memorial to the States on the subject of English affairs. The memorial contained these words : " That the ties of friendship and alliance between his master and the King of England, obliged him not only to assist him, but also to look on the first act of hostility as an open rupture with his crown." The memorial was delivered to the States two days after the King of England's had been delivered ; and therefore the two had the appearance of having been concerted together.

All measures and all accidents proved fatal to James : This interposition, intended for his advantage, brought mischief upon him. Those members of the States who were of the Prince's party had long put implicit confidence in that wisdom and courage which had saved their country. The members of the Louvestein faction, with that envy which attends all factions, were not without hopes that he might perish, or be affronted in the attempt : And the neutral members, who attended only to the mercantile interest of Holland, were not dissatisfied to create trouble to a King, whose political passion was the love of naval affairs, and in whose reign, and his brother's, notwithstanding the distractions of both, the trade of Eng-
land

land had flourished more than it had ever done before. The States therefore alarmed, or pretending to be alarmed, with the expression, "alliance," in the French memorial, exclaimed, "That it discovered there was a secret treaty between the Kings of England and France, which could never have been concealed from them, had it not been intended against them," took advantage of the accident of the coincidence of time in the delivery of the memorials, gave no answer to the French one, and, in order to throw the odium of the war upon James, made answer to the English ambassador, "That they had armed in imitation of his master, whose secret alliance with France justified what they did." James, was sensible of the advantage which this accident gave the Dutch over him: He recalled Skelton, committed him to the Tower, and gave the most solemn assurances to the Dutch, that there was no treaty between him and the French which was not known to all the world. The States, who resolved not to be undeceived, feigned incredulity and terror. Their policy passed for conviction, and made their countrymen more zealous against the cause of a King, whom they believed to be confederating with their mortal enemy for their destruction. Private persons considered the cause of the Prince as their own, and entered into it with all the enthusiasm of public and of private passion. We are obliged for an anecdote of this kind to a great monarch, who has found it not incompatible with the cares and pomp of royalty, to write the history of that country whose glories he has extended. A Dutch Jew of Amsterdam, named Schwartzaw, hastened with an hundred thousand pounds to the Prince. "If you are fortunate," said he, "I know you will pay me; if you are not, the loss of my money will be the least of my afflictions *." The belief of an alliance

* Memoirs of Brandenburg.

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Differences
in the
Prince's
English
councils.

between France and James rebounded from Holland to England, and cooled the few lukewarm friends he had there.

In the mean time, the Prince of Orange was beginning to experience, in his English friends who attended him, that spirit of party and politics which consumed with vexation the remainder of his life. They differed among themselves about the terms of the declaration which the Prince was to disperse in England, being divided into two parties, each of which insisted to have its own principles and tenets in government and religion, and those only, expressed in the declaration. The Lords Mordaunt and Macclesfield even threatened to quit the enterprize, if the sentiments they were fond of were not made the foundation of the cause which all were engaged in. Some insisted to make the faults of the late reign part of their complaints, because that reign had been under the influence of the Duke of York; while others thought, that looking back would provoke the tory party. Some proposed to look forward, and pointed at making republican principles the foundation of the expedition; while others protested against whatever could injure the constitution and kingly government. The Dutch were amused to see such heats, upon such subjects, among men who were disputing with axes hanging over them. But the Prince grew uneasy, took the drawing of the paper from both sides, and gave it to Dykvelt, who, being of neither party, took privately the advice of Stuart, who was then at London, and drew one which pleased both *.

* During the intended French invasion into Scotland in the year 1708, the English fleet at the mouth of the frith of Forth was mistaken at Edinburgh for the French. Upon that occasion, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Lord President of the court of session, who was flying into England himself, advised Sir James Stuart to do so too, putting him in mind that he had had a hand in drawing the Prince of Orange's manifesto; he answered, "Ay, ay, my dear, that is true; and I must draw this man's too." This is a story well known to both families.

The English differed next upon the manner of conducting the invasion; some inclining to land in the south-west, and others in the north-east parts of England. Lord Danby directed his friends to advise the Prince to the latter: An advice founded in public upon Danby's great interest in those parts, upon the facility of being supplied with horses in Yorkshire, and of being joined there by the malecontents both of England and of Scotland, and upon the terrors imprinted by Jeffreys's executions in the west not yet worn away; but which in private arose from Danby's desire to engross the Prince to himself, and to assume the merit of the first important service in his cause. On the other hand, Admiral Herbert insisted, that the fleet could not ride in safety on the east coast, in an easterly wind, which was to be expected at that season of the year: Those who joined with him observed, that, if the Prince landed in the north, he might be inclosed between the two armies of England and Scotland; and that the country from thence to London was woody and inclosed, whereas that between the west and the capital was open and subject to no danger or delay. The Prince secretly resolved to prefer the latter opinion, chiefly, because he had no time for a lingering war; yet kept his resolution within his own breast, to hold his enemies in uncertainty. Some again proposed, that the ships of war and the fleet should sail together. Others pressed with warmth, that the ships of war should be sent to fight Lord Dartmouth; and that, in the mean time, the transports should be kept ready with the troops on board, to take advantages of circumstances, and slip over. The Prince was obliged to interpose here. He argued, "Loss of time
" was loss of every thing: The English on their own
" coasts might avoid or prolong engagements as they
" pleased: In the mean time the troops must suffer by
" being kept on board: A sudden frost might even lock

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The Prince
publishes
his declara-
tion.

“ up the fleet altogether.” When they were not convinced by his arguments, he required obedience, and issued commands. Men who had refused obedience to their own Prince, because he had not their esteem, gave up their own wills instantly to that of another, though a foreigner, because he possessed it.

After all these matters were adjusted, the Prince published his declaration, and took care that it should be dispersed through England. It complained of the King’s counsellors, not of the King : “ These,” it was said, “ had advised him to assume dispensing and suspending powers, which laid all the laws at the foot of the throne ; and the first exertion of those powers had been displayed in breaking down the barriers contrived for the security of the protestant religion. An ecclesiastical court was revived, which had long been abolished by the legislature : In this court the properties of the church had been wrested from her, her dignities invaded, and her members persecuted. A regular plan had been carried on, for the establishment of popery in England ; for, monasteries and convents had been erected, colleges of Jesuits founded, popish churches and chapels openly built, public stations crowded with papists, and a person who was a papist, a priest, and a Jesuit, avowed to be one of the King’s ministers of state. The political liberties of the nation had been violated ; for the charters of many boroughs had been seized, their protestant magistrates removed, and popish ones put in their places. A parliament had been delayed to be summoned, until the electors all over Britain were sounded, if they would return representatives named by the court ; and those electors were removed from their offices who had refused to comply. The civil liberties of the subjects were not in safety ; seeing judges had been displaced for giving judgments according to their consciences,

“ and

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“ and others put in their places who had none ; and the
 “ common privilege of every citizen to lay his prayers
 “ before that sovereign power which rules his actions, had
 “ been persecuted in the persons of those who were pre-
 “ lates of England and lords of parliament. Even the
 “ security of property had been unhinged ; because the
 “ tribunals were filled with men whose religion made
 “ void, in law, all the judgments they pronounced. The
 “ whole government of Ireland was in the hands of
 “ papists, by which the protestants were daily flying
 “ from a country, in which their ancestors had been
 “ massacred by the ancestors of those who had now all
 “ power over them. Scotland had been robbed of her
 “ liberty, and the arbitrary power of the King over that
 “ country asserted even in those papers of state which ge-
 “ nerally draw a veil over the disgraces of those to whom
 “ they are addressed. To crown all, it was suspected by
 “ the Prince and the nation, that a measure had been
 “ taken, to secure the continuance of the present calami-
 “ ties by imposing the birth of a Prince of Wales upon
 “ the public. States depended for their duration upon
 “ the maintenance of their laws ; and, where these were
 “ attempted to be overturned, it was the duty of all in-
 “ terested in their preservation to interpose. The Prince
 “ had been solicited to do so, by many of the peers both
 “ spiritual and temporal, and of all other orders, and by
 “ some who were known to be the most attached to the
 “ cause of the crown : The rights of the princess, which
 “ were in danger, made it his duty to her to comply
 “ with their desires. He had undertaken his present ex-
 “ pedition with no other view than to get a free parlia-
 “ ment assembled, which might remedy those grievances,
 “ enquire into that birth, and secure national religion
 “ and liberty, under a just and legal government, for the
 “ future :” Expressions generous and open to appearance,

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yet ambitious and ambiguous in reality ; which, under the decorum of not complaining of the King personally, avoided an explanation upon the Prince's submission to his title ; and, by referring the settlement of the nation to a free parliament, kept it open for that assembly to determine the question, if the throne could be filled by a Roman Catholic. Sunderland's change of religion was with affectation twice complained of, the more effectually to conceal the reason of his apostacy.

Whilst this declaration was dispersing, James had removed the foundations of many things complained of in it, by recalling the unpopular measures pointed out to him by the bishops. But the Prince published a supplement, in which he remonstrated, " The recal of a part of
" the late measures was a confession of the violations
" of which he had complained : But it arose only from
" the consciousness of guilt, and from present danger.
" The nation might see what faith was due to future promises, from the regard that had been shown to the past.
" A general declaration of the rights of the subject in
" full parliament, not particular and temporary acts of
" grace yielded in the present circumstances of things,
" was the only means to secure for ever the establishment
" of those rights."

Other public papers published by his followers.

Besides this manifesto, there was published a letter from the Prince to the army, another from Herbert to the seamen, and a tract directed to the people, which had been composed by Burnet, in defence of the lawfulness of the Prince's undertaking : Papers all necessary in a nation, the meanest artizans of which study political disputes, when alone, with more ardour than those of higher condition in other nations talk of them in society. The Prince's letter piqued the soldiers on the honour of their profession : " Their English protestant
" fellow-soldiers," it said, " had been cashiered in Ire-
" land

“ land without reason, and with disgrace ; and Roman Catholics exalted in their places. Irish papists had been forced likewise upon the army in England, and the officers stripped of their commissions who had opposed them. As theirs would chiefly be the crime, if the nation was subjected to tyranny ; so theirs would chiefly be the honour, if its liberty was saved. Should they miss the present opportunity, they would find, that, after enslaving the rest of their countrymen ; only the poor consolation could remain to them, of becoming the last slaves in the nation themselves.” The Prince concluded with promising military rewards to those who should join him, and most to those who should soonest do so. Herbert’s letter to the seamen was blunt and rough, suited to his manners and to theirs : He told them, “ Infamy or ruin to their fortunes would attend their opposition to the Prince. Infamy, if he failed of success ; dismissal from service, if he succeeded.” Burnet’s tract, by an investigation of principles, and deduction of consequences, was calculated for the inquisitive and reasoning spirit of that nation to which it was addressed. These papers, in imitation of the Prince’s manifesto, averred, that the Prince had been invited over by a great number of officers of the army and fleet : A stratagem contrived partly to oblige the Prince’s friends to throw off the mask, and partly to create jealousy in the King of his own party, and in his party of one another.

James was alarmed, on reading the Prince’s declaration, to find, that some, accounted faithful to the cause of the crown, had invited the Prince to attack him ; but was confounded when he found, that some of his new allies, the bishops, were of the number. In order to put them to the test, he sent for * the archbishop of Canterbury, and desired him to assemble the bishops, and draw

The King’s
interview
with the bi-
shops.

* Archbishop’s relation in appendix to Clarendon’s Diary.

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up a paper, which should testify their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's design. The archbishop made his excuse, that there were few bishops in town. The King next shewed the Bishop of London that part of the Prince's declaration which related to his order, and asked him if it was true? The bishop gave this ambiguous answer: "I am confident the rest of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself." The King then sent for five bishops who were in town, and renewed the desire he had expressed to the archbishop. They desired time * to deliberate. The Bishops of London, Rochester, Peterborough, with the archbishop, met privately, and resolved to avoid complying with the demand that had been made upon them. The first, because he could not in honour; the second, because he saw the times changing; and the two last, † because they were irritated with their late persecution. These four were soon sent for again to the palace. The King asked for their paper. The archbishop, after several excuses for not framing it, proposed, that the other bishops should be summoned to town from the country, in order that all might take their measures together; the King answered, "The thing would admit of no delay." The Bishop of Peterborough, who was most suspected, said, "That if the King would publish the disavowal of the bishops, it would be the same thing as if they did it themselves." The King interrupted him: "A few lines from themselves would do better." One of the bishops suggested, that as some of the lay lords were said, in the declaration, to have invited the Prince, these lay lords, who were in town, should meet with the bishops to deliberate with them. The King objected, "This would take up too much time:" And still insisted with the bishops for an abhorrence of the Prince's cause. The

* Bishop of Rochester's relation.

† Clarendon, p. 317.

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archbishop, in the name of the rest, answered, "We are
" the messengers of peace, not the denouncers of war."
" Then," cried out the King with vehemence, "I must
" trust to my own arms," and left them abruptly.
From the Scotch prelates, indeed, he met with more do-
cility: They published a declaration, in which they
prayed, "That Providence might give the King the
" hearts of his subjects, and the necks of his enemies."

One yet more bitter task remained for a king and a fa-
ther. He assembled the privy council, the nobility, the
bishops, the magistracy of the city, the judges, and many
other orders and persons, and made them the following
speech, which I transcribe literally, because it best ex-
presses the state of things, and of the King's mind at the
time: "I have called you together upon a very extra-
" ordinary occasion; but extraordinary diseases must have
" extraordinary remedies. The malicious endeavours of
" my enemies have so poisoned the minds of some of my
" subjects, that, by the reports I have from all hands, I
" have reason to believe, that many do think this son,
" which God has pleased to bless me with, to be none of
" mine, but a supposed child. But I may say, that by a
" particular providence, scarce any prince was born,
" where there were so many persons present. I have
" taken this time to have the matter heard and examined
" here, expecting that the Prince of Orange, with the
" first easterly wind, will invade the kingdom; and
" therefore I thought it necessary to have it now done,
" in order to satisfy the minds of my subjects, and to
" prevent this kingdom being engaged in blood and con-
" fusion after my decease."

Enquiry in-
to the birth
of the
Prince of
Wales.

He then caused to be examined about forty witnesses,
to prove the birth of the Prince of Wales: All these,
persons of the highest rank, of the most unquestioned cre-
dit, in matters not of opinion, but which fell under the
cognizance of their senses, ascertained the legitimacy of
the

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the Prince. The depositions were ordered to be recorded in chancery. Notwithstanding this solemn proof, many still continued to believe, and more pretended to do so, that the birth of the Prince was an imposture ; putting thus the noblest of causes, that of liberty and of human nature, upon a false and mean foundation. The Princess of Denmark, under pretence of being with child herself, though she was not, avoided being present at those examinations, and afterwards made them the common subject * of her merriment with her women. The archbishop, Lord Clarendon, and Lord Nottingham, upon this occasion, refused to take their seats among the privy counsellors, because Father Petre was upon the list, though, by the King's orders, he was absent, and they placed themselves among the Lords.

The Prince
detained by
cross winds.

While these things were passing in England, the Prince of Orange, who had all things ready, was detained during some weeks †, by his fears for his own country. The troops of the German Princes, always slow in their first motions, were prevented by accidents from setting out on their march towards Nimeguen. The French army was in motion, but its destination not declared ; and D'Avaux's memorial gave the Prince too much reason to fear, that the destination was intended against Holland. At last, all the German auxiliaries joined the Dutch camp on the Rhine, to protect Holland ; and the French King, irritated by the affront of James's public refusal of his assistance, and disavowal of his ambassador's memorial ‡, left him to his fate, and, with a view to pierce into Germany against the Emperor, laid siege to Philipsburgh, a town far distant from the territories of the Dutch. The Prince, on the news of this, instantly ordered the troops intended for the expedition to

* Clarendon's Diary, 79.

† D'Avaux, Oct. 1.

‡ Vide Appendix to this Book.

drop down the Maese and the Issel from the camp to the two seas. He sent the transports which were in the Texel round to join those which lay at the mouth of the Maese. He appointed the general rendezvous to be at Goree, where most of the ships of war already were. He hastened himself to the sea-coasts, but was prevented from making the embarkation, by a track of south-west winds which lasted * near three weeks. During this period, in order to heighten terror by suspense, and to swell his armament in the imaginations of the English, by their ignorance of its magnitude and occupation, the Prince stopt the departure † of all vessels for England: And the winds, more effectually than his orders, prevented all news from reaching that kingdom.

All this while the citizens of London, stopping their ordinary occupations, employed themselves during the day in enquiring for news, and in looking from their windows and doors at the weather-cocks and steeples to see which way the wind blew. Others rose during the night to gratify their curiosity, and spent whole hours in the streets, in prayers for an east-wind, which went at that time by the name of *the protestant wind*. But the rest of the nation in general heard of a foreign army and a foreign fleet coming upon the coast of England, with as much indifference ‡ as if it had been a common occurrence: A state of apathy which, to the wise, appeared more dangerous to the King than all the zeal of those at London against him: For opposition leads to opposition of sentiment: But that Prince approaches to his ruin, whose subjects are unconcerned about his fate. The King gave orders to elevate the sacred host, during forty days, for his protection: And the clergy of Holland and of Britain wearied heaven with their prayers, in public, for the success, or the disappointment, of their different Princes.

* D'Avaux, Oct. 19, and 25.

† Ibid.

‡ Reresby.

A P P E N D I X

TO

B O O K V.

THE papers to which I have had access in King William's Cabinet, and at Versailles, enable me to give the public an account of the intrigues by which the Revolution was brought about in England with some degree of precision and certainty. The arranging of the papers on this head is the most pleasing part of my task, and, I hope, will be so to others; because there are few great families in this country, who will not find that their ancestors (of whatever party they were) had a hand in it in one way or other.

N^o I.

Letters carried by Monsieur Dykvelt to the Prince of Orange, from Lord Halifax, Lady Sunderland, Lord Churchill, Colonel Bellafys; the Lords Sunderland, Nottingham, Clarendon, Rochester; Mr. Fitzpatrick; the Lords Danby, Devonshire, Shrewsbury; Sir George M^cKenzie, the Bishop of London, and the old Earl of Bedford; which contain the Intrigues of Dykvelt in England, in the Summer of the Year 1687, for bringing about the Revolution.

The Correspondence on this subject is in King William's Cabinet, as follows:

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Allbeville sent Ambassador to Holkand.

Whitehall, December 30, 1686.

I HAVE now dispatched this bearer, M. d'Allbeville, my envoy to the States, and would not let him go without writing by him to you, to assure you of

the continuance of my kindness to you, and the desire I have to continue in a very good correspondence with the States, of both which I have charged him to speak with you, and of several other things of concern, and desire you will give him entire credit in what he shall say to you from me, so that I need not repeat any of them to you."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Dyckvelt comes ambassador to England.

Whitehall, February 18, 1687.

"**L**AST night I had yours of the 21st, by which I find Monf. d'Abbeville was to have his audience of the States as last Monday, so that now M. Dycvelt may have his audience when he pleases; which when he has, he shall find, notwithstanding so many foolish and malicious reports, that I have not altered my mind, but continue my resolution of living with a perfect good understanding with them. But of this more when I have spoken with him."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Has prorogued parliament, and is to give liberty of conscience.

Whitehall, March 18, 1687.

"**I** HAD yours of the 21st from the Hague, so late on Tuesday last, that I could not then let you know I had received it. I see by it that you were satisfied that the peace of Christendom would be preserved at least for this year. I am of your opinion too, and you know was all along of opinion, that France would be quiet, believing it not their interest to be otherwise. I have this day resolved to prorogue the parliament till the 22d of November next; and that all my subjects may be at ease and quiet, and mind their trades and private concerns,

concerns, have resolved to give liberty of conscience to all dissenters whatsoever, having been ever against persecuting any for conscience sake."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The nation is pleased with the declaration for liberty of conscience.

Whitehall, April 22, 1687.

"I AM very glad all things continue so quiet, on your side of the water; they are so here, and I find my declaration contributes much to it, the generality of the nation being satisfied with it and at ease by it."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Windsor, May 20, 1687.

"ALL here is very quiet, and my declaration has put people's minds much at ease, and I have great reason to be well pleased with having put it out."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Sent by Mr. Dyckvelt.—A letter of compliments.

Windsor, May 29.

"THE same reason that kept you so long without writing to me, has hindered me all this while from answering your letter; for if you believe that your letters can be troublesome to me, I must needs think that you judge by yourself, in finding mine so, or else you could never wrong me so much as to have that thought of me. I have desired Mr. Dyckvelt, who is the bearer of this, to assure you that I have all the desire in the world to do you service, having as much esteem and friendship for you as I ought to have, and as I shall always

ways endeavour to shew you upon all occasions, being more than I can express, what I hope you will believe me, truly yours,

M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Dyckvelt returns to Holland, and is to let the Prince know what the King expects of him.—N. B. What the King expected was his consent to the abolition of the Tests.

Windfor, May 28, 1687.

" I Would not let this bearer Mr. Dyckvelt return without writing to you by him. I have spoken to him of your private concerns, of which he will give you an account, as also of the public affairs here, and have spoken very freely to him of them, and told him (what I think) I have reason to expect from you, for the good of the monarchy, as well as our family, which he has promised to tell you, so that I need not write it, but refer you to him, and though, may be, some persons, that are not well affected to me, nor the government, have misrepresented some things to him, and find fault with my proceedings in several things, yet I am satisfied I have not made one step, but what is for the good of the kingdom in general, as well as for the monarchy, and have more reason every day than other to be pleased with having put out my declaration for liberty of conscience."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to King James the II^d, in answer to the foregoing letter.—Refuses to concur in abolishing the Tests.

June 17, 1687.

" A Little after the arrival of the last courier, Mr. Dyckvelt came here, who gave me the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me, and informed

informed me of your goodness in wishing to take care of my particular interests, for which I give you humble thanks, and entreat you to remember them upon proper occasions. As for the rest, he gave me an account of what your Majesty gave him in charge to say me on your part. Upon this head your Majesty will give me leave to repeat, what I formerly had the honour to write you, that there is no person in the world who has more aversion than I have for all sort of persecution on the score of religion, and that certainly I will never in my life put my hand to it; but at the same time that I can never resolve to do any thing contrary to the interest of the religion which I profess; and that therefore I cannot concur in what your Majesty asks of me. This I hope you will not take amiss when you consider upon what foundation I do it, and that in every other thing you will find no body who will be more attached to your interests, and who will serve them with more fidelity, which I wish passionately for occasions of testifying to your Majesty by effects, and that I shall be all my life with a profound respect what I ought."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Vexed that the King will not consent—Complains of Dyckvelt.

Windsor, June 16, 1687.

"I Had yours of the 17th so late on Tuesday last, that I could not then answer it. Since when, I have had also yours of the 20th, and write now because I intend to hunt to-morrow, and am sorry to find by it, that you say you are against persecuting any for conscience sake, and yet that you cannot be for taking off all those laws, and the Tests which are so very severe and hard upon all Dissenters from the Church of England; and since what Mr. Dyckvelt said to you from me, could not alter your mind

mind as to that, I cannot expect that a letter should prevail with you; so that I shall say no more on that subject now, and only tell you that you will find that he Mr. Dyckvelt has not taken right measures of affairs here, by giving so much credit to some that do not wish me and the monarchy well, and continue their old methods of creating fears and jealousies."

Before Dyckvelt came to England, the Prince of Orange had privately applied to Lord Halifax to know his sentiments upon the state of things in England.

In King William's cabinet are the two following letters from Lord Halifax upon this occasion :

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Advise the Prince to remain quiet; and wait for accidents.

December 7, 1686.

"AFTER so long a respite, your Highness will allow me to make use of the privilege of presenting my duty to you, and to put you in mind that my conjectures concerning the parliament have proved true, and if you will give me leave to make my guesses of what is to come, I am of opinion that the meeting appointed in February will not hold, there being no steps made to make it more advisable at that time than it was last month. Besides, the condition the King of France is in, which is looked upon here as desperate, is a circumstance of that weight, that it must probably either produce a new scheme, or make very great alterations in the old one. Your Highness seeth of what use it is to stand firm and quiet, neither to yield nor to give advantage by acting unseasonably. Accidents come that either relieve, or at least help to keep off the things we fear for a longer time; and that is no small matter in the affairs of this world. I

must give you my most humble thanks for your Highnesses favours to my son, who is, as becometh him, extremely proud of them, and will I hope make it his ambition, as well as it is his duty, to deserve them; if he should not, he must renounce the rest of his family, and particularly your Highness's eternally devoted servant."

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

January 18, 1686-7, S. V.

"YOUR Highness will give me leave to acknowledge your goodness to my son; in giving him such favourable admittance, which hath made him yet more ambitious to deserve the countenance you have been pleased to afford him. I hope you will put him in the list of those who are to be disposed of by you, since it is a tenure by which I and mine shall ever hold. He is so full of his veneration for your Highness, that he doth himself a very good office with me, by such an effect of his judgment; yet I will not answer for it so far, but that he may have been guilty in the manner of paying his respects, in which if he hath failed, his youth and his good intentions must be his excuse. He will bring your commands carefully to me, which will be so much the more welcome, by giving me the assurance that I still retain the same place in your Highness's thoughts, though I have not of late had so frequent opportunities of recommending myself to them. In one thing I have had the luck to guess right, and not to mislead you by a wrong conjecture; that is, about the meeting of the parliament, which you see is to be prorogued, notwithstanding the positive discourses to the contrary. The motion of public things, at present, hath not only variety but some kind of contradiction in it. It is very rapid, if looked upon on one side, if on the other, it is as slow; for though there appeareth the ut-

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most vigour to pursue the design which hath been so long laid, there seemeth to be no less firmness in the nation, and aversion to change; so that conversions are so thin, and those which are, so little fit to be examples, that the prevailing party is not a little discountenanced by making no quicker progress; for that reason it is believed they will mend their pace; and if so, every day will give more light to what is intended, though it is already no more a mystery. Whatever happeneth, nothing must ever alter my resolutions of being devoted to your Highness's service."

Soon after Mr. Dykvelt arrived in England, the Countess of Sunderland sent a messenger to Holland with the following letter to the Prince of Orange, of the affectation and mysteriousness of which the reader will form what judgment he thinks proper. My own suspicion is, that the letter was her husband's diction, and the postscript her own. The reader will suspend his judgment of Lord Sunderland till he has seen the subsequent papers relating to him in this Appendix.

Countess of Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—A singular letter.

March 7, 1687.

"AT the distance that Mr. Sidney is I am in a great streight how to let your Highness know a matter which appears to me very necessary you should be acquainted with; and however strange it may seem to you my undertaking to write to you, which is what I never did before, and upon a subject you may think unfit for me to meddle in, had I the honour to be known to you; I think it better not to trouble you any farther with apologies,

logies, but humbly beg a suspension of your opinion of me till you see Mr. Sidney, who will do me the right, I am sure, to tell you I am not apt to meddle in these affairs; and as I do only trust him, so I think nothing but your service could tempt me to break through a difficulty of this kind that may seem bold to you, and if by any accident in the way should be known, ruin to myself. But I shall pass by all that to let you know the business now on foot here. Your Highness is not ignorant I am sure what endeavours have been used here to gain votes in parliament for repealing the test and penal laws, upon which, as I suppose you know, several have and do quit their places rather than submit to; which makes the Roman Catholics see they are not likely to carry it that way; which brings me to that which I think of importance you should know; that the last essay they will put in practice as to the parliament, is to flatter Monsieur Dixfield with a great many fine things, that there shall be an entire union between England and Holland, nay farther, I am sure they intend to make you the finest offers in the world, as your having a full power in military and civil affairs by naming all officers; that Ireland shall be put into what hands you will; and for all this they ask you to bid Monsieur Dixfield, and Monsieur Citers declare in your name, that you wish the parliament would take off these laws, and that you think it reasonable they should do so. By this means they fancy they may compass their point, which when done, I think 'tis plain the article on your part is upon record, theirs only verbal; your Highness is the best judge of the likelihood of its being performed. But with submission to your better judgment in all things, I must beg leave, being here, and hearing many of your faithful servants, that are acquainted with the temper of the nation, at present talk of this matter of the industry that is used to take off these laws, to give you both theirs

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

and my own opinion in this matter; that if there were a possibility for you to be brought to do what they will ask of you, it will only have this effect, that it will create jealousies of your Highness here, which may be of very ill consequence to you, and even your joining in it would never do their business, I mean the repealing the laws. Another point is, it is possible it would gain the making people jealous of you, which I believe is the second point they value in this commerce. But I have not apprehension enough of your being caught with these fine offers, so have given you this trouble. But how far the offers may touch the ambassadors I did not know, for I am sure there is no offers, nor no dangers, that will not be very artificially shewed Monsieur Dickfield. For the last I am sure there is nothing they need apprehend; and I think the offers are full as slight: But a negotiation on any commerce of this kind cannot be to your advantage; but infinitely the contrary; which is the only inducement I have in sending this man with this intelligence, in which I have been so cautious that the bearer does not know he comes from me, or that he has any letter of mine. I have only writ to Monsieur Bentick a letter about my garden, and inclosed one for the Princess, in which I have made bold to put this, for which I most humbly beg you will ask her pardon, and bestow yours upon the faithfullest and humblest of your servants.

A. SUNDERLAND.

I must beg leave of your Highness to inclose a letter for Mr. Sidney, who I hope will be with you very soon, and till he comes I beseech you make no answer to my letter, for fear of accident. For this had gone to you two posts ago, but that an accident happened that I thought was better to let pass over. Some papists the other day that are not satisfied with my Lord, said, that my Lord Sun-
derland

derland did not dance in a nett; for they very well knew, that however he made the King believe, he thought of nothing but carrying on his business; there was dispensations from Holland as well as from Rome; and that they were sure I held a correspondence with the Princess of Orange. This, Sir, happened the day I first heard of their design to make these propositions which I have writ, which made me defer sending till the King had spoke to me of it, which he has done: and as I could very truly, so I did assure his Majesty, I never had the honour to have any commerce with the Princess, but about treacle water or work, or some such slight thing; so I did likewise as truly assure his Majesty, that if there had ever been any commerce, I should never be ashamed, but on the contrary proud to own it, seeing he must be sure that the Princess could never be capable of any thing with any body to his disservice. Now how this fancy came in their heads I cannot imagine; but that they have a mind to do mischief; for as your Highness knows, I never had the honour to write to you at all till now; so the Princess knows I have been so unhappy to have very little acquaintance with her till of late I have had the obligation to my Lady Semple and Mr. Sidney to have had an occasion of writing to her, which I value, and will endeavour to continue and improve by all the zeal and esteem for her that I am capable of to my last breath. I have the ill luck to write a very bad hand, which if your Highness cannot read plain, which few can, I humbly beg you will keep it till Mr. Sidney comes, who is used to my hand. If at this man's return I can but hear my letter came safe, and that you pardon the liberty I have taken, I shall be very much at ease. If, by the bearer, your Highness will be pleased to let me know my letter came safe to you, I shall think myself very happy."

Monf.

Monf. Dykvelt carried over with him among other letters the following from England to the Prince of Orange, It is fingular that moft of them are from men of the tory party. The letters are interefting to Englifh readers, becaufe they difplay the various characters and views of the writers. The letters are all in King William's cabinet.

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.—Affures him the Princefs Anne and himfelf are to ftand firm to their religion.

S I R,

“THE Princefs of Denmark having ordered me to difcourfe with Monf. Dyckvelt, and to let him know her refolutions, fo that he might let your Highnefs, and the Princefs, her fiftter, know, that ſhe was refolved, by the affiftance of God, to fuffer all extremities, even to death itfelf, rather than be brought to change her religion. I thought it my duty to your Highnefs and the Princefs Royal, by this opportunity of Monf. Dyckvelt, to give you affurances under my own hand, that my places and the King's favour I fet at naught, in comparifon of the being true to my religion. In all things but this the King may command me, and I call God to witnefs, that even with joy I ſhould expofe my life for his fervice, fo fenfible am I of his favours. I know the troubling you, Sir, with thus much of myfelf, I being of fo little ufe to your Highnefs, is very impertinent, but that I think it may be a great eafe to your Highnefs and the Princefs to be fatisfied that the Princefs of Denmark is fafe in the trufting of me; I being refolved; although I cannot live the life of a faint, if there be ever
 occaſion

occasion for it, to shew the resolution of a martyr. I am, with all respect, Sir," &c.

May 17, 1687.

Colonel Bellafys to the Prince of Orange.—Boasts of his loyalty, and assures the Prince of his service.

May 27, 1687, Old Stile.

"I HAVE presumed by this worthy bearer, to give your Highness the assurance of my devotion to your service in particular; the testimony I have given to the world of my loyalty and sufferings for the crown, obliges me in duty to pay the same to those who are so nearly related to it as the Princess Royal and your Highness. Though my hand be weak to express it, or enlarge myself upon this subject, my heart shall supply that defect, in the profession I make, with all submission, of being," &c.

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Monsf. Dykvelt has to say to him.

"I Received the honour your Highness was pleased to do me by Monsf. Dickvelt with all the respect I owe, and will ever pay to your commands, which I shall, on all occasions, exactly obey. He is too well informed of every thing here, to pretend to give you any account of what has passed since his coming; and if he does me right, as I doubt not but he will, he must assure your Highness, that no man in the world is with more respect and submission than I am," &c.

Windsor, May 28, 1687.

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Dykvelt has to say.—The Prince has the universal attachment of the Protestant interest to him.

“THE great ambition I ever had of serving your Highness, made me most readily obey the commands I received from you by the Heer Van Dychvelt, who has encouraged me to the presumption of this humble address to your Highness.

I have taken several opportunities of discoursing with him those things which I thought might be of use or satisfaction to you ; I shall not trouble your Highness with any account of affairs here at this time, for he has so fully informed himself of them, that he can give you a very exact account of them : and of one thing especially he may assure you, and that is, the universal concurrence of all Protestants in paying the utmost respect and duty to your Highness, for you are the person on whom they found their hopes, as having already seen you a refuge to the miserable, and a most eminent defender of their religion.

And among the many votaries your Highness has here for your long life and increase of honour, none can be more zealously so than myself, who am resolved, with the greatest fidelity, to endeavour, by all the actions of my life, to obtain the title of,” &c.

London, May 18, 1687.

Lord Clarendon to the Prince of Orange.—A letter of compliment.

S I R,

“THOUGH I have nothing worth giving your Highness the trouble of a letter, yet I must not omit the opportunity of laying myself at your Highness’s feet by

Monf. Dyckvelt, who, I doubt not, will do me the juſtice to aſſure you of my moſt obedient duty. I ſhould take it for a great honour to have any commands from your Highneſs, and ambitious of nothing more than a ſhare of your good opinion, as a perſon perfectly devoted to your ſervice. Monf. Dyckvelt will give your Highneſs ſo full an account of all affairs here, that I need add nothing to what he is ſo well informed of; I ſhall only take the liberty to ſay, that as his conduct here has been very grateful, ſo all good men are troubled he ſtays no longer with us. That God would proſper and bleſs your Highneſs in all your undertakings, and give you all the comforts in this world, ſuitable to your merits, is the conſtant prayer of, Sir," &c.

London, May 28, 1687.

Lord Rocheſter to the Prince of Orange.—General aſſurances of good will, but avoids entering into particulars.

“**N**OW that Monſieur de Dycvelt is returning to your Highneſs, I preſume to preſent my humble thanks to you for the very gracious and kind letter your Highneſs was pleaſed to write to me by him, upon a ſubject, that unleſs it had been by a ſure hand, it was not ſafe to ſay any thing; and by what hand ſoever, was much beyond what I could expect; but what good opinion I have gained on that occaſion, I ſhall endeavour not to loſe upon any other. In the circumſtances I am, as to my retirement, both on the public and my particular account, your Highneſs cannot expect that I ſhould ſay much to you; and if it were otherwiſe, Monſieur de Dycvelt hath had ſo good means of knowing every thing, and hath ſo very good qualities, that it were very unneceſſary to write, where he is going: I am confident that he will do me right, that I have not been reſerved

towards him, when he hath done me the honour to communicate any thing to me. All that I can say more, is, that my wishes are very good, but neither now, nor for some time, before every body else saw it, could they signify much. In what condition soever I am, I beg your Highness to believe, that I shall always continue, with all duty and submission, to be as I ought to your Highness."

New Park, May 29, 1687.

Mr. J. Fitzpatrick to the Prince of Orange.—Protestants of all parties have opened themselves to Dyckvelt.

S I R,

May 30, 1687.

"**T**HE many obligations I have to your Highness, and the sincere passion I have for your service, emboldens me to acquaint your Highness with the great importance that I think it would be not only to your Highness, but the States, if Mons. Dickvelt might be sent ambassador here in the room of Mons. Van Citters; his great prudence, and the zeal that he is believed to have for your Highness and the Princess, has got him the universal good opinion of all parties here, though differing never so much in their religions, which your Highness will easily find by the freedom with which they have communicated their innermost thoughts, hopes and fears to him, and I am sure will do still, when there is any occasion for it. The thoughts of which I submit to your Highness's great wisdom, begging your pardon for this liberty, and the continuance of your favour to the person in the world that is most ambitious of an opportunity to express his gratitude, and manifest how much he is, Sir," &c.

Lord

Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.—Recounts Dyckvelt's services to the Prince in England.—Proposes a personal interview of some of the English with the Prince, that overtures might be made.

London, May 30, 1687.

“**A**T the arrival of Mons. Dyckvelt in this place, I did by him receive the honour of being remembered by your Highness. He also then told me, that your Highness had been pleased to name me, amongst some others, with whom it was your pleasure he should confer on such occasions as he should think were for the service of your Highness. I am, therefore, in the first place, obliged to return your Highness my humble thanks for so great an honour, and next to do that justice to Mons. Dyckvelt to assure your Highness, that as you could have employed nobody here who would have been more agreeable to your well-wishers in this country, so I am confident that nobody could have discharged themselves better than he hath done, both in his deportments to the King, and with all the satisfaction that could have been wished to those with whom he has conversed concerning your Highness (of which both the numbers and quality have been very considerable); his chief business having been to give assurances of your Highness's great firmness in the protestant religion, and to make known not only your wishes, but endeavours, that no alteration may be made amongst us, otherwise than by parliament, and as our law directs. By his prudent management of these discourses, he has done your Highness great service, and in all other things your Highness's worth and merit were so well known before, that there needed nothing to set them forth more than

your own actions have already declared them to the world.

I am sorry he is able to bring your Highness no better an account of our services during his stay here, but you know that our present stations do render most of us but little capable of doing any thing which can deserve to be thought considerable. I confess, that could there be a convenient opportunity for some of us to have a personal conference with your Highness, it is not only my opinion, but the opinion of others, who have the honour of corresponding with your Highness, that some overtures might be made which would be of use to your service, and I hope from these hands your Highness is well informed of their thoughts who are devoted to your service. For my own part, I am so tied to be of that number by what I have done already (besides my continued inclinations to be so), that if I were disposed to alter that character, I should not be able to make myself believed, unless your Highness would contribute to it by some proof of your displeasure towards me, which I can never fear, because I am equally assured of your justice, as I am of my own integrity to your service, and of the satisfaction I have received by those happy successes I have had in it, to which I am sure no competitor can pretend an equal share; and, therefore, if in this I presume to more than I ought, I hope I may be pardoned a little vanity, having been the happy instrument of so great a public good, as, I doubt not, it will at last prove, as well as a particular one to your Highness. I am glad to find that Mons. Dyckvelt, who is so able to serve your Highness, is so well established in your confidence, as I understand by my Lord Halifax, to whom you gave him such credentials as made me willing to speak much more freely to him than otherwise I should have done; but yet
I must

I must confess to your Highness (which I rely upon your justice to keep to yourself), that finding his Lordship, who received those credentials, not willing to impart some things to him which are not very proper to be written, I thought it less prudent for me to say to him all that I could wish your Highness were truly informed of. I say not this with the least reflection upon my Lord Halifax (who, I am confident, is truly zealous in your service), but to shew our unhappiness, who dare not, by second hands, speak what was necessary for your knowledge. I have only to add, that if I can, in any kind, be serviceable to your Highness, your commands will meet with so great obedience and faithfulness, that I shall not consider myself, if your Highness shall think me worthy of the continuance of that favour I have formerly received, and which, I am sure, I have not justly forfeited. In the mean time, I will beg the honour of being presented by your Highness, with all duty, to the Princess's memory, and that I may imagine 'tis your Highness's opinion, as I truly am," &c.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—There is little fear that popery will prevail.

May 31, 1687.

" I Deferred my thanks for the honour of your Highness's letter, till I could pay them by the same hand that brought it. Having had the opportunity of discoursing frequently, and at large, with Mons. Dickvelt, it would be less proper now to enter into particulars, or to make repetitions of that, which he will be so much better able to explain. I shall, therefore, only put your Highness in mind, that my conjectures about the meeting of the parliament have not hitherto been disappointed; and if I may be allowed to continue them, I am of opinion

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

opinion there will be none in November, neither this, nor a new one; though that is threatened, upon a supposition, that it shall be made up of Dissenters, and that they will comply with whatever shall be expected from them. Neither of these will be found true, in my opinion, if the trial should be made; there are a great many circumstances which make such a scheme impracticable, and the more they consider it, the more they will be discouraged from attempting it; besides, the case, in short, is this; the great design cannot be carried on without numbers; numbers cannot be had without converts, the old flock not being sufficient; converts will not venture till they have such a law to secure them as hath no exception to it; so that an irregularity, or any other violence of the law, would so entirely take away the effect of it, that men would as little run the hazard of changing their religion after the making it, as before; this reason also fixeth my opinion; though other arguments are not wanting; and upon this foundation I have no kind of apprehension, that the legislative power can ever be brought to pursue the present designs. But our affairs here depend so much upon what may be done abroad, that our thoughts, though never so reasonable, may be changed by what we may hear by the next post. A war in Germany, and much more if one nearer to us, will have such influence here, that our councils must be fitted to it; and whether or no we shall have an avowed part in it, it is pretty sure we shall have a leaning to one of the parties; and our resolutions at home are to be suited to the interests abroad, which we shall happen to espouse. Men's jealousies here are so raised, that they can hardly believe the King of France's journey to Luxemburg to have no more in it than bare curiosity to see it; but your Highness hath your eyes so open, and your thoughts so intent upon every thing

that

that moveth, that, no doubt, you either see there is no mystery, or, if there is, you have searched to the bottom of it. Monf. Dickvelt will entertain your Highness with all his observations, which he hath made with great diligence, having conversed with men of all complexions, and by that means he knoweth a great deal of the present state of our affairs. The opportunities he hath had, will make him the more welcome here again, whenever there shall be a fair occasion of bringing him. His free way of conversing, giveth him an easier admittance than he would have, if he was too reserved; and his being known to be a creature of your Highness, encourageth men to talk with him with less restraint. May your Highness continue well and safe, and may no ill happen to you, till I cease to be the most devoted of your servants."

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Monf. Dyckvelt has to say.

S I R,

PRESUMING that your Highness has heard of an unlucky accident that has happened to me lately, I think myself obliged humbly to beseech your Highness not to believe me capable of intending any rudeness to the King's palace, having, on the contrary, endeavoured all I could to avoid it, and hope no action of my life can render me suspected of want of respect to his Majesty, or the Royal Family. I could heartily wish, Sir, that affairs in England were according to your Highness's satisfaction. Monf. Dyckvelt has been pleased to acquaint me with your Highness's intentions as to many things, and among thousands here that would be glad to receive your orders on any occasion, none can be more cordially, nor with greater respect, Sir," &c.

May the 31st.

Earl

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—Strong assurances of his services.

S I R,

London, May 30, 1687.

“ I FEAR you will think this an unpardonable presumption in one that is so inconsiderable, and so much a stranger to your Highness; but I was unwilling to let pass the occasion, without assuring you, that though I hope you have a great many servants and friends in this place, yet there is not one more entirely and faithfully so than myself. It is so much every honest man’s interest, not only to say, but be so, that I hope you will the easier believe what I speak is not a compliment, but the truth of my heart. The great, and only consolation that we have left is, that you are so generous to countenance us in our misfortunes, Sir, at the same time we know you approve we here are in the right. Your commands is the rule I have set myself to conduct the rest of my life; and whenever I shall be so happy as to receive them, they shall be obeyed with that duty that becomes, Sir,” &c.

Sir George Mackenzie to the Prince of Orange.—A spirited letter.

May it please your Highness,

“ I HAVE adhered to the principles of the Protestant religion, and the interest of the royal family, from a due sense of duty and honour, and therefore I neither value popularity nor expect rewards. But, Sir, your great virtue and exemplary firmness obliges me to assure your Highness, that there is none in this isle of Britain more devoted to your service than,” &c.

Edin. June 9, 1687.

The Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—The King may come to trouble, and the Prince will be his only support.

S I R,

June 16.

“ I HAVE presumed to recommend a young French gentleman to you by the hands of Monsieur Beningk, and beg your pardon for it. I was very glad to receive so good assurance of your welfare as Monsieur Dickvelt brought over. It is not only for your near relation to the crown, that you are so much prayed for here, but for your usefulness to it. For if the King should have any trouble come upon him, which God forbid, we do not know any sure friend he has to rely upon abroad, besides yourself, whom therefore God long preserve a blessing to the King and kingdom, which shall ever be the prayer of,” &c.

The old Earl of Bedford to the Prince of Orange—Laments his own misfortunes.—Attached with his family to the Prince.—Prays for him.

May it please your Highness,

“ GREAT and surprising honours the more joy they give, the more they disable us to express it, and I am not ashamed to own I cannot find words to represent the deep sense and just gratitude with which my heart abounds, for those assurances Monsieur Dyckvelt has given me of your Highness’s compassion for my late calamity, and gracious disposition to comfort an unfortunate family, which I should be less concerned for than I am, if I could doubt any branch of it would ever fail in any point of duty to your Highness’s person, which is here universally held in the highest veneration for those Christian and princely virtues that make you worthy of whatever your

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high birth has given you, or may entitle you to. That it would please God to give you long life, and to continue all his blessings to you, is the hearty prayer of him that has the utmost devotion to your service, and is, with all humility," &c.

N^o II.

Correspondence conducted by Count Zulestein.

*King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Notifies the
Duchess of Modena's death.*

Windsor, August 2, 1687.

"**T**HE friendship you have shewed me on all occasions, and the part that I have always flattered myself, you took in my concerns, makes me hope I may have a great share of your compassion in the great grief I now lie under, for the death of the Dutchess of Modena, my mother; in which nothing can comfort me, but the hopes I have of her happiness in the other world. Next to this I think it some ease in one's afflictions to have the pity of one's friends, which makes me hope for yours at this time, assuring you that in what condition soever I am, I shall always be with all sincerity truly yours.

M. R."

*King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Thanks for
his condolence by Zulestein, who returns.*

Bath, August 21, 1687.

"**I** HAVE so many thanks to return you for the part which M. Zulisten has assured me you take in my just grief for the loss of my mother, and for sending him
to

to assure me of it, that I know not where to begin, nor how to express to you the sense I have of it: I hope you are so just to me as to believe it much greater than I can make it appear in this paper. I have desired this bearer to help me to persuade you of this, and to assure you, that I do desire above all things the continuance of your friendship, which I cannot but think I do a little deserve by being with all the sincerity and affection imaginable, truly yours,

M. R."

Lord Mordaunt to the Prince of Orange.—In despondence.—dissuades him from taking the bold courses he had formerly advised him to.

S I R,

"**I**F as to that particular affair I had the honour to give your Highness an account of (and that you were pleased frankly to ingage in,) my expectations are so far diminished, that I think myself obliged to own I am become very doubtful of the success of it, and for that reason must rather dissuade from, than persuade to the expence those for whom I have, and ought to have the last respect, and whose interest I would manage with a tenderness, equal to my desire of serving them; yet I think myself sufficiently recompensed for any private disappointment by the prospect of public affairs, and the hopes I have your Highness's interest increases every day more and more in strength, and do not doubt will grow stronger even by the endeavours of the court to weaken it, and be past being shaken by their tricks, or by their power. Monsieur Zulisten (perhaps more proper, as not taken for a man of business, but a particular servant of your Highness's for what he was sent about) came in a very lucky time, and it was no little satisfac-

tion to me to find upon the whole, he will very near give your Highness an account of affairs, as I had the honour to represent them to you. Sir, I may easily fall into mistakes, but my unfeigned wishes for your prosperity, and being entirely convinced we ought to serve your Highness to the utmost of our power, if only upon the principles of self-love and preservation; but these opinions too agreeing with my inclinations, will make me I am sure never offer to your Highness but the true and sincere thoughts of a heart, that I protest, Sir, is entirely yours. I take the liberty to send a little pamphlet as it came to my hands, though Monsieur Zulisten not going to day as he intended, I believe he will carry some of them over in print, which may be easier read. These who sent it me, concluded, I believe, the design would please me, and as I was intimating to your Highness that I thought some of our church would do well to take this subject in hand, I was glad to see it not ill executed. I hope it will both please and satisfy your Highness when you read it. I flatter myself I shall not be long absent from Loo, my old passport stands good still, (my dear Roman Catholic friends not being able to quit their greedy hopes, but persisting in their desires to me, and entreating me every hour to proceed in this affair, though I fear, not with good reasons of their side, of which I sent Mr. Sidney at large my thoughts, not changed since, no more than my resolutions of following your Highness's directions in it, which way soever they incline, with all pleasure and readiness.) So, Sir, I do not trouble you with any more of public affairs, but that I find Lord Halifax positive in his opinion of no parliament: I presume daily care will be taken, that they may have less reason every moment to hope to succeed in what alone they would have it met for, and so it may become probable that the session may not be long, but it is best erring of the surer side, and
conclude

conclude that a parliament may sit, that the best means may be taken to prevent its being fatal to us, for blows given by parliament are deadly ones. Your Highness I fear will think you have reason to judge quite differently of me from what other people do, appearing to you thus upon all occasions timorous and desponding. I own, Sir, where your interest, or the public is concerned, I may be liable to needless fears, out of diffidence that naturally follows a sincere and real concern; but in the executing part of any commands I shall ever receive from your Highness, you will give me leave to answer for myself, and assure you, your Highness shall never find a fault or hesitation in, Sir, &c.

September the 4th, our style.

Sir, you will excuse this postscript; of great consequence I think it is not, but since I write my letter, I am informed they are sending a privy seal for Sir Rowl. Gwinn. As he loves talking of business, I fear he may have been indiscreet, or else it is to endeavour to fright him from coming into England to stand for parliament man."

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to the Prince's letter.—The Prince has put queries by Count Zulestein whether there was a probability of a parliament, and what would be the success of one.—Thinks there is an intention to call a parliament, but that it will not be ventured.

May it please your Highness,

"I WAS much surprised to receive the honour of a letter from your Highness by Mr. Zuylesteyn; your acceptance of my service obliges me to the utmost fidelity, and is an ample reward of it too.

I un-

I understand by Mr. Zuylesteyn that your Highness would know what likelihood there is of the calling and meeting of a parliament; and, if there should be one, what probably may be the success of such a meeting.

'Tis very hard to foretell what will be the issue of the present councils; for though the end at which they aim is very plain and visible, yet the methods of arriving at that end have been very variable and uncertain; so that although in other times the best prophecies are the conjectures of wise men, yet now perhaps they are the worst, and to guess right is rather luck than wisdom, which makes me presume to lay before your Highness my apprehensions, and to hope for your pardon if I should be mistaken, since wiser men may be so too.

I think it is very probable that the present resolution is to have a parliament; the sudden and surprising declaration of indulgence to men, who a little before were hated, and laboured under great severities; the placing them in offices of trust in corporation towns; the encouragement of them to stand for members of the next parliament, and the particular reason that is given them for it, which is, to repeal the penal laws, in which the Protestants and Papists seem to have a joint interest; and this, that it may appear the more specious without abrogating the test; all these are evidences of their intention to advise the calling of a parliament, and together with the King's progress into the country, look preparatory to it.

Nevertheless, when I consider what little hopes they can justly have of any fruits of those endeavours when a parliament shall meet, I do conclude that they will change their councils, and that there will be no parliament this winter.

For it is very likely, that if a parliament should be summoned, the members of the church of England, having already given sufficient evidence of their zeal for their religion

religion and laws, will, upon that account, as well as being the major part of the nation, prevail in most elections ; so that few Dissenters, upon whom the Papists do now depend, will be chosen ; and further, I am apt to think, that few Dissenters will attempt it, as easily foreseeing, that if they do not comply in all things that are expected, or shall be asked of them, they will expose themselves to great displeasure, and so run the hazard of forfeiting that toleration which they are well pleased to enjoy, though they like not the method by which it is given them.

And it may reasonably be expected, that such Dissenters as shall be chosen, will not, in their present circumstances, concur to the repeal of so much as the penal laws: For this has been their opinion in former parliaments, in which they never would give that ease to the Papists, which they desired for themselves, and to do it now, might encourage the Papists to greater attempts; and the Dissenters would never recover the reproach of having been factors for popery, and the unhappy instrument of prejudicing the protestant religion; and consequently will not have such reason to expect a like indulgence in other times, as their prudent behaviour in this conjuncture will justly intitle them to; and which, they hope, will then be established to them by a more firm and lasting security.

But after all, notwithstanding the pretences of some Papists and their agents, yet if the Non-conformists would repeal the penal laws, it is very probable it would not be granted, unless the test were taken away too, which is the great obstruction to the Papists designs ; for though many of the nobility and gentry of that party would acquiesce in the enjoyment of their religion and estates ; yet if there be reason to think, that the zeal of some men would go much further, especially of the priests,

who can have no interest in stopping here, surely they will never contradict their former artifices, and suffer the Dissenters to be freed from the terror of the laws, which is the most probable inducement to them to join with the Papists, and without such an union, the Papists cannot expect to abrogate the test, and complete their designs.

And yet, if this repeal of the penal laws would be granted, there are so many other things that will be taken into consideration by a parliament, and of a nature so contrary to the present interest and humour of the Papists, that it will be next to impossible that there should be time to bring such a bill to perfection, how zealously soever it may be prosecuted in the House of Commons, or otherwise encouraged.

All which difficulties the Papists cannot be so blind as not to foresee, or so vain as to contend against them, as yet, in a parliament.

All which I most humbly submit to your Highness, and must intreat your pardon for the trouble, and the many other faults of so long a letter, of which nothing could have made me guilty, but my great zeal, upon all occasions, to shew myself," &c.

London, Sept. 2, 1687.

Earl of Danby to the Prince of Orange, in answer to one from the Prince.—Zuylesteyn's services.—Repeats his desire for a personal interview with the Prince.—Refers to Zuylesteyn.

Wimbleton, Sept. 4, 1687.

"I WAS very proud to receive by Monsieur Zuylesteyn the honour of a letter from your Highness, and to find in it so great a condescension as to remember the services of one, who is now so little able to pay any.

The

The character your Highness gives of Mons. Zuytlestein would give me the confidence to say any thing to him, which I would venture to say to any body but yourself; nor would I forbear, upon that recommendation, to say to him any thing which were so material to your Highness's service, as might receive any prejudice by the delay; but I can say nothing which is so pressing in point of time, nor would I commit to writing what the thoughts of others are besides my own, without their consent, for which I have had no opportunity since I received your letter, which was but on the 2d instant. I am sure your Highness will receive all necessary accounts of things from hence as the occasions require, and Mons. Zuytlestein will inform you of the present posture of all things amongst us. I confess I could wish that the understanding, both on your Highness's part and ours, were more perfect, in relation to such future events as may probably happen (and which are too long to be expressed by letters); but I have touched upon some things of that kind to Mons. Zuytlestein, as questions which I have been asked by others, and he made me such answers as I was glad to hear, and which he said he was instructed to give, in case any such enquiries were made, of which he will give your Highness an account. I made some open attempts the last summer, and some private ones in this, to have seen if I could have gained leave to go into Holland with the same indifferency that it is permitted to many others; but I still found designs were laid to do me more prejudice by that journey, than I could have done service to your Highness. I must, therefore, deny myself the honour of waiting upon your Highness, till my attendance may be as useful, as such on occasion would be agreeable to me; and then nothing shall be an hindrance to," &c.

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Thinks no parliament will be called, and that the nation will not receive popery.—Advises caution.

August 25, 1687.

“IT would be unnecessary to give your Highness a recommending character of my Lord of Shrewsbury, who hath already so good a one established and allowed in the world; I shall only say, in short, that he is, without any competition, the most considerable man of quality that is growing up amongst us; that he hath right thoughts for the public, and a most particular veneration for your Highness; he is loose and untied from any faction that might render him partial, or give a wrong bias to his opinion; and I do not doubt, but upon the first discourse you shall have with him, you will be encouraged to treat him without any manner of reserve. There is so little alteration here since Mons. Dickvelt left us, that I can hardly acquaint you of any thing of moment which would be new to you. I have told my Lord Shrewsbury my thoughts, who is very well able to improve and explain them to your Highness. It is not to be imagined but that a certain design will still go on; all that is to be hoped is, that it will be so crippled with the difficulties it every day meeteth with, that it will be disabled from making so swift a progress as is necessary for the end it aimeth at. There are some things that can never prevail upon men’s minds, if they have time allowed to consider them; this may be the present case, the whole kingdom being now so well-informed, that all men are settled in their dislike of the unwelcome thing that is endeavoured to be imposed on them: this consideration alone freeth me, in a great measure, from the fears I might otherwise have; not that

that it throweth me into such a security as to make me neglect the means that shall, from time to time, be thought most reasonable for our preservation, towards which your Highness seemeth to us to be in the best method that can be imagined, in being firm to your true interest, immovable in every thing that is essential, and cautious to give no advantage which might, with any colour of reason, be made use of against you. This conduct being continued, can hardly fail, there being so many things that concur to make it succeed. I find by Mons. Zuleystein, that your Highness is inclined to believe there will be a parliament; upon which, being encouraged in my good luck in guessing right hitherto upon the same subject, I take the liberty to tell you that I do not think any will be called, till, by some sudden accident, it shall become necessary and unavoidable: my reasons for it will be better repeated by my Lord of Shrewsbury, so that I shall not now give your Highness the trouble of them. We are full of the news from Hungary, which is not equally welcome to the several Princes in Christendom. We think it may have a considerable influence upon this part of the world, and if the season was not too far advanced, we are apt to believe France might this very year give some trouble to its neighbours. What part we here might have in it, I cannot tell, but suppose we shall be slow to engage in a war, which, besides the expence, to which we cannot furnish, is liable to so many accidents, that we shall not be easily persuaded to run the hazard of it. Your Highness hath your thoughts intent upon every new thing that ariseth in the world, and knoweth better than any body how to improve every conjuncture, and turn it to the advantage of that interest of which you are the chief support; and as your care and skill will never be wanting, so, I hope, they will meet with their just reward

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of good success, which is the top of my wishes, as it is the utmost of my ambition to be serviceable to a Prince to whom I am eternally devoted."

London, August 25, 1687.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.—Zuleystein's services.

September 1, 1687.

"**H**AVING so lately written to your Highness by my Lord of Shrewsbury, who is able to give you a particular account of things here, I have nothing to acquaint you with by Mons. Zuleystein, who seemeth to deserve the good opinion you have of him, his character agreeing so well with his recommendation, that he is extremely welcome to all those he converseth with; neither is he wanting to make such observations as may be useful for your service, by which he layeth a foundation of being so well informed of our matters here, that he may prove to be a very good instrument to be further employed when the occasion shall require it. The King has returned from his progress as far as Oxford, in his way to the Bath; and we do not hear that his observations, or his journey, can give him any great encouragement to build any hopes upon, as to the carrying on some things, which appear every day to be more against the grain. Besides the considerations of conscience, and the public interest, it is grown into a point of honour, universally received by the nation, not to change their opinion, which will make all attempts to the contrary very ineffectual. A parliament is still talked of, but I find no cause to alter my judgement in that matter, it being still the same I have already told your Highness, and of which I have desired my Lord of Shrewsbury to give you some of the reasons that induce me to it. I have no
more

more to add, but that I am, and ever will be, unalterably devoted to you."

Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince.—The church of England steady.—The Dissenters, he hopes, will open their eyes.

S I R,

September 5.

"YOUR remembrance of me by Mons. Zuilisten, has obliged me to acknowledge that great honour by this means; and though I have nothing of moment proper to communicate by writing, nevertheless it is of moment to me, not to lye under the imputation of ingratitude, lest I should justly lose so great a satisfaction, as sometimes to be owned amongst your most humble servants. If you shall find by the account Mons. Zuilisten gives you, that I have communicated nothing to him worthy that confidence you were pleased to recommend, I beseech you not to believe that it has proceeded from any reservedness, where I had so strong an assurance from yourself, but that I had no more to say; for since my misfortune of lying under his Majesty's displeasure, I frequently retire into the country out of reach of the great news, and when I am in town I meet with little but what is so public, that it would be impertinent for me to repeat it. We have daily complaints how busy the priests are amongst the conventicles, but we hope a few discoveries will make that party wiser. The clergy continue very firm to their principles, very watchful over their flocks, and very dutiful to the King; and, next to my allegiance, I can confidently aver, that there is no duty which I shall not most chearfully pay to your service, and pray God for your prosperity all the days of my life."

N° III.

Letters carried by other persons than Dyckvelt and Zulieflein, to the Prince about the same time, from Lord Devonshire, Lady Sunderland, the Bishop of London, the Marquis of Winchester, the Lords Shrewsbury, Danby, and Halifax.

There is no doubt that the petition and imprisonment of the Bishops were the immediate causes of the dethronement of King James, because they set the spirits of men, which were moving only slowly before, in an instant in a ferment. Between the time of Dyckvelt's return to Holland, and the petition of the Bishops, the Prince received, among others letters, the following from England. They are all in the box.

The Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of his own injuries, the nation's, and the Prince's.

S I R,

“ I WISH my present circumstances would allow me to be any ways serviceable to your Highness; but as they are, if I did not believe you had much better intelligence from other hands than I am able to give, I should presume now and then to send your Highness an account of affairs according to my weak apprehension of them. And to that end (if your Highness permit) I have thought of a private way of writing, which Mr. Forrester will acquaint you with. I have been hardly enough used in my own particular, but I conceive the whole nation is not much better; and for any things appears to me, I cannot but think, as things are like to be carried, both here and in Ireland, your Highness's interest

terest is like to suffer. I dare not enlarge upon particulars, but beg of your Highness to believe, that I wish my liberty for nothing more, than to have some occasion to shew myself, Sir," &c.

July 10, Old Stile.

The Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's letter.—Thanks for his assurances to the church of England.

S I R,

October 27, 1687.

"**T**HE terms by which you were pleased to express yourself in reference to the church of England, were every way so obliging and satisfactory, that I look upon myself as bound in duty to acknowledge the deep sense I and every true member of the same church ought to have of so great a blessing. And though you are at present at a distance from us, and not so well able to partake of the fruits of so good intentions, yet when we shall have served this King with all fidelity, so long as it shall please God to continue him amongst us; as none that know you will question the sincerity of your performance, so, I make no doubt, but you will soon find the benefit of having taken up so wise resolutions. For, Sir, you that see all the great motions of the world, and can so well judge of them, know there is no reliance upon any thing that is not steady to principles, and prefers not the common good before private interest. I pray God continue to be gracious to you, and to direct and prosper all your councils, and to crown the endeavours of your life with the consummation of all happiness; which shall ever be the most hearty prayer of, Sir," &c.

Lady Sunderland to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's letter.—Assurances of her attachment.

S I R,

“**W**HEN there is such an occasion as Mr. Sidney has offered me, of writing by one of your Highness's servants, I could not forgive myself if I did neglect returning you my humble thanks for the honour of your letter by Mr. Sidney. I do think myself very happy to have done any thing you like and accept, and which I can never fail of, if ever it were in my power to express my zeal and affection for your service, which can never alter but with my life. Till this opportunity I durst not so much as return your Highness my thanks for your favourable reception of my intentions; and I have at present so great a head ache, that I have writ, if possible, a stranger hand than ordinary; but yet I could not lose this opportunity of assuring you of my being, with all the duty, as well as inclination, Sir,” &c.

Dec. 23, 1687.

Translation.

The Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Congratulates him on his conduct about Fagel and Stuart's letters.

“**I** Cannot let this occasion pass of assuring your Highness of my most humble services, and to take the liberty of testifying to you, in a few words, my thoughts upon the letter which has appeared here a few days ago under the name of Mr. Fagel. People are in raptures to find the sentiments of your Highness and of the Princess in matters of religion, not only so equitable, but so agreeable to the interest, and to the taste of all the nation, except those who by a pretended liberty of conscience seek the

the opportunity to destroy it intirely, as in effect is seen in all places where they have the power to do it. People remark in the letter a distinction altogether judicious between the laws which are called Penal, and those of the Test; seeing these last have no regard but to the maintenance of the religion and government, which without this bulwark run a great risk of being overturned. What regards me in particular, is not worth the while to trouble your Highness with; yet I do not wish that you should know it from others, before I do myself the honour to touch upon it to you. I take then the liberty to inform you, that the marriage of my son with the daughter of Lady Russel is upon the point of being concluded; to which I beg the approbation of your Highness, which will always regulate the conduct of," &c.

The Marquis of Winchester to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in answer to a letter from the Prince.—His gratitude for the honour of it.

"**I** AM so sensible of the great honour that your Highness is pleased, by my dear nephew Howe, to express for me, and likewise the great grace and favour he received from your Highness, that I hold myself obliged (with all humble submission for the presumption) to declare my gatitude under my own hand, Intreating your Highness to believe, that my prayers and best wishes are and ever shall be for your increase of glory and happiness suitable to your bravery and merit, and that high esteem your Highness has over all this part of the world, which shall always have the first place in the heart of," &c.

Basing, Feb. 20, 1687-8.

Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in answer to a letter from the Prince.—Is to be with the Prince in summer.—The King makes no progress either in England or Scotland.

London, March 14, 1687-8.

“ I Could not, Sir, let Mr. Howe, who goes away this afternoon, part without making my humble acknowledgements to your Highness for the kind expressions in your letter ; if the state of our affairs here will any ways permit, I will not fail this summer to pay them in person, and shall be disappointed of a journey I very earnestly set my heart upon, if things should come to such an extreme as to prevent me. The only considerable news I can learn here is, that there has a disagreement happened between my Lord Sunderland and Fra. Peters ; how that may be composed, or what consequences it will have if it continues, I dare not decide. Though we constantly talk of a parliament, yet I imagine our ministers are a little at a stand in their councils, when they consider how unanimous the answers have been through all the counties ; neither have they met with much better success, as I am informed, in Scotland. I have this very morning, Sir, met with a report, which though I hope it is not true, yet it has renewed the fears I have very often had for you : we are told there is a man seized at the Hague for attempting to poison you. Though I have not this from so sure hands as to give absolute credit to it, yet I cannot help putting your Highness in mind how possible it is, and beg in the behalf of millions that you will take care of yourself ; it seems hard that one should be solicitous for others sake, when one is naturally not so for oneself. But the same generosity that in ordinary cases makes one despise a life, in so extraordinary a circumstance as yours obliges

obliges you to be careful, since the security and happiness not only of many men but many nations depend upon it ; be, Sir, but as zealous to preserve yourself for the common good, as you have been forward to expose it for the same cause, and all your servants will remain satisfied with your care : That it may be effectual shall be the daily and hearty wishes of," &c.

Marquis of Winchester to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in answer to a letter from the Prince.—Probably a cant letter assuring the Prince of his services.

“ I Received your most serene Highness’s letter, and since you are pleased to desire the conclusion of the match proposed, to show your Highness how ready I am on my part in obeying your commands, I have immediately sent over a gentleman to make out what I have promised (which I will perform) by Captain Howe my dear nephew, and I do not doubt but that the Marquis of Montpelier, my ancient friend and acquaintance, will do the same, and then this gentleman I send has power to conclude. I am infinitely obliged to your Highness for your many kind expressions to me, which I will always own by all the duty and service that ever can be paid by,” &c.

Basing, April 16, 1688.

Marquis of Winchester to the Prince of Orange.—Sends over his two sons to the Prince.

Basing, April 23, 1688.

“ I Cannot omit any opportunity humbly to present my duty and service to your most serene Highness by a safe hand. This I know to be so, having had great experience of my friend captain Man’s fidelity and ingenuitie, hav-

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

ing intrusted him in many matters of great moment, in which I always received full and ample satisfaction; I therefore have humbly recommended him to your Highness's favour, which he is very ambitious to have. I hope this small essay of my service will be agreeable to your most serene Highness, offered with all duty, by, &c.

I humbly desire leave to present my humble duty and service to her royal Highness,

My son Wilts will soon pay his own and my duty to your most serene Highness, going over this week; my son William is impatient to do the same, and though I am loath to part with him before his brother returns, yet I have that desire that all mine should shew their duty to your Highness, that I will deny my own inclination (as soon as I can overcome it), and send him to lie at your feet, for he is wholly devoted to your service and interest. I envy my son's happiness, which nothing but my ill health could hinder me from enjoying, but I freely submit to God's will to be deprived of that great pleasure I desire earnestly."

Part of a letter from Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.—

Insinuates suspicions of the Queen's pregnancy.—The nation wants only an opportunity to show their zeal for his service,

London, March 27, 1688.

"**M**ANY of our ladies say, that the Queen's great belly seems to grow faster than they have observed their own to do; and because it is fit her Majesty should always have the greatest persons near her in this condition, I hope the Princess will take care that the Princess Anne may be always within call; and especially to see (when the time is near) that the midwife discharges her duty with that care which ought to be had in a case of so great concern.

cern. Our zeal here for the Protestant religion does apparently increase every day in all parts of the nation, and the examination of the minds of the nobility and gentry has made such an union for the defence of it through the kingdom, that I verily believe they begin to despair of supplanting it by violent means, and it is certain they can do it no other way. The constancy and firmness which both the Princesses have shewed in their religion, and your Highness's mind in relation to things here (which was so prudently made known by Monsieur Fagel's letter), has so contributed also to add courage to that union, that I look upon our security to be much strengthened by it, as well as both your Highnesses interests raised here beyond your own expectations, insomuch that I am confident there wants only an opportunity to the greatest part of the nation to shew their zeal for your service. I must beg your Highness's excuse for so tedious a letter, and yet I am desirous to have said much more, but that without some discourse to explain myself, I might be liable either to have my meaning mistaken, or not fully understood, which would only be to give your Highness an useless trouble,

I have one thing only to lament, that although our union in general be very great, yet particular distrusts are so great also, as render many good intentions very ineffectual. I am, with all that duty and respect I ought to be, your Highness's most faithful and obedient servant."

Part of Lord Danby's letter to the Prince of Orange.—The King's suspicions of the Prince.

London, March 29, 1688.

"I AM forced to give your Highness the trouble of this second letter, to inform you, that upon my son's asking the King's leave to go beyond sea, his Majesty granted

granted the leave, but said with some heat, Provided it be not into Holland, for I will suffer nobody to go thither. My son answering that he had no design of any thing but to see a country he had not seen; the King answered, Perhaps so, but he had relations who had other designs there, and he knew there were those in Holland who gave themselves hopes of seeing some English lords at the head of some of their squadrons, but he would take care to prevent it. After this discourse to my son, which was in a room next to the bed-chamber, he came out into the bed-chamber, and my Lord Dumbarton and Lord Litchfield being only there, the King said to my Lord Dumbarton, I find they are much surpris'd in Holland with my raising three new regiments; to which my Lord Dumbarton answered, that he wonder'd why they should be so; the King replied, they would be surpris'd much more before he had done with them. This was on the 27th at night, and on the 28th my son went to court to get his pass from one of the Secretaries of State, and the King happening to see him, called him to one side of the room, and said, My Lord, I had newly received some news last night when you spoke to me, which had disturb'd me, and made me speak to you in some disorder, therefore I would not have you take notice of any thing I then said to you, for I dare trust you to go where you will; but said, If you go only for curiosity, you might as well satisfy that elsewhere as in Holland."

Translation.

*Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe.
Insinuates suspicions of the Queen's pregnancy.*

My Lord,

"I HAVE not found an occasion before the departure of Mr. Howe to testify my humble gratitude to your Highness for all your goodness to me. Affairs here are almost

almost in the same state. The King declares always his intentions to assemble a parliament, although matters do not seem disposed for it; they believe that it will be about the time of the Queen's being brought to bed. The Roman Catholics incline absolutely that it should be a son; and besides, the army at Hounslow will be in the neighbourhood. These are only conjectures, and your Highness cannot want lights much more authentic, than those which I am capable of giving. But it is certain, that we expect great extremities. All our hopes are founded upon the security of your person, and that of the Princess, both of whom may God preserve from all plots and attacks. Nobody wishes it with more ardour and passion, than does, my Lord, the most obsequious and the most humble of all your servants."

13th March, Old Stile.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—The King gains nothing on the nation.—Advises to cautious measures.

"I Avoid giving your Highness unnecessary trouble, and though this hath a good conveyance, yet it may, perhaps, be so long in its way to you, that it will not be pertinent to repeat what you will have had from other hands. There hath been little that is new this great while, since either the old methods have continued, or else what appeareth to be new, is at least not strange, being produced by a natural consequence, and therefore to be reasonably expected and foreseen. In some particulars, to men at a distance, the engine seemeth to move fast, but by looking nearer, one may see it doth not stir upon the whole matter, so that here is a rapid motion without advancing a step, which is the only miracle that church hath yet shewed to us. Every attempt turneth back upon them. They change the magistracy in the corporations, and still for the worse, as to their designs. The irregular

lar methods have spent themselves without effect; they have run so fast that they begin to be out of breath, and the exercise of extraordinary powers, both ecclesiastical and civil, is so far from fixing the right of them, that men are more united in objecting to them. The world is still where it was, with this only difference, that it groweth every day more averse to that which is endeavoured to be imposed upon them. The very Papists who have estates, act like pressed men, and have such an eye to what may happen in a revolution, that their present advantages hardly make amends for their fears; upon the whole, they are so divided between the fear of losing their opportunity by delay, or spoiling it with too much haste, that their steps are wavering and uncertain, and distrusting the very instruments they use, they are under great mortifications, notwithstanding the appearance of carrying every thing without opposition. Being thus discouraged by their ill success in their attempts, some say they are altering their scheme, and not finding their expectations answered by the Dissenters, they have thoughts of returning to their old friends, the High Church Men; but the truth is, the Papists have of late been so hard and fierce upon them, that the very species of those formerly mistaken men is destroyed; they have so broken that loom in pieces, that they cannot now set it up again to work upon it: In the mean time the men at the helm are certainly divided amongst themselves, which will produce great effects, if men will let it work, and not prevent the advantages that may be expected, by being too unquiet, or-doing things out of season; the great thing to be done now, is to do nothing, but wait for the good consequences of their divisions and mistakes. Unseasonable stirrings, or any thing that looketh like the Protestants being the aggressors, will tend to unite them, and by that means will be a disappointment to those hopes, which otherwise can hardly

fail: Nothing, therefore, in the present conjuncture can be more dangerous than unskilful agitators, warm men, who would be active at a wrong time, and want patience to keep their zeal from running away with them. It is said by some, that there is an intention of making a new attempt to beget a better understanding with your Highness; that in order to it, the present Envoy, as less acceptable, is to be removed, and another sent, who, if he should be less known, may, perhaps, for that very reason, be the more dangerous: If this should be true, and that softer proposals should be made from hence, it will deserve all your caution to receive them so as neither to give advantage by rejecting them too roughly on one side, or on the other, by giving any colour for them to pretend there is a consent given to any thing that may be inconvenient. After the reports raised here, without any manner of ground, first of your Highness being a Papist, then of your being desirous to have the Test repealed, there is nothing of that kind which may not be thought possible; so that if there should now be any nearer treaty, it might, perhaps, be made use of with more advantage by them, to mislead men at a distance into a wrong belief. In lower instances, it hath not been unusual, in such cases, to set proposals on foot, of which no other effect is expected, than to bring men under doubts and suspicions from their own friends. The instruments that shall be made use of, their interests and dependencies being well considered and examined, will give a great deal of light, if any thing of this kind should be attempted; and it happeneth well, that they will have to do with one who knoweth so well how to judge of men and things, as not to be within the danger of being easily surprised, neither by any upon this occasion, nor by any other of our countrymen who speak what is dictated to them by men of several interests, or endeavour to value

themselves upon their correspondencies and influences here, which, I doubt, have seldom foundation enough for your Highness to build upon. There can be nothing better recommended to you, than the continuance of the method which you practise; neither comply in any thing that is unfit, nor to provoke further anger by any act that is unnecessary. This will not, perhaps, be sufficient to prevent ill-will, but it will, in a great measure, secure you from the ill effects of it. Your Highness must allow me to applaud my good fortune in not having hitherto made a wrong conjecture about the sitting of the parliament: Notwithstanding the discourses that have been made by the great men, with the greatest assurance, that it would meet one time after another, I ever thought it impracticable, considering the measures that are taken, and I am now as much an unbeliever for October, as I was for April, which was the time prefixed for the meeting; with all this your Highness must expect, that it will still be given out, there will be one; it is not, perhaps, thought convenient, neither indeed would it be so, that all foreign Princes and States should conclude, there never will be a parliament in England in this King's reign; a great deal would depend upon such an opinion received, which would have an influence upon their manner of treating with us; but according to the most rational conjecture, how extraordinary soever things may appear which have been done, the letting a parliament meet as matters now stand, would so undo them all, that it is hardly to be supposed possible. The other great point which at present maketh the discourse is, whether England will have a war with the States; in this, the more thinking sort of men are of opinion there will be none. There is disposition enough for it, for reasons which need not be explained; but there are so many discouraging circumstances, and the prejudice from

ill success would be so much greater than the utmost which can be hoped in case of prospering, that the men in power must go against all the common methods of arguing, if they venture upon an experiment which may be so destructive to them. I have tired your Highness so long, that it is time for me to close with my wishes for your own and the Princess's health, which are of that consequence to the world, that nothing can be desperate whilst you are well and safe. For myself, I must ever be unalterably devoted to you."

London, April 12, 1688.

Some of the preceding letters mention the vain attempts of the King to gain over individuals to agree to the abolition of the Tests. The following papers are authentic evidences of this.

King James to the Duke of Hamilton.—Desires a positive answer whether he will agree to the abolition of the Tests. —In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.

Whitehall, Feb. 11, 1688.

"BEFORE this gets to you, you will have had time to discourse with some one of the law, as well as of the gospel, concerning the Test and Penal laws, so that you may as well now, as at any time, give an account if you can comply with what I desire, and join with those of my loyal subjects who are for the repeal of these laws and Test, and for settling an entire liberty of conscience, which you know is what I drive at, and make no doubts of bringing about in all my dominions. You see the condescension I had for you, in not expecting an answer from you before you left this place, and that now I do not let this question be asked

you by any but myself ; but now I must do it, and expect your positive answer to these points I have mentioned to you, and of which I discoursed with you before you went, and that by letter to myself. If you come the length of what I desire, of which I can make no doubt, then I leave it to you to let the rest of these, I trust in my affairs there, know it or not, as you think best. But in case you cannot comply, then you are to let nobody know it but myself and Lord Sanderland, who sends this to you : And I expect your positive answer within two or three days after your having received this.

JAMES R."

The Duke of Hamilton to King James, in answer to the foregoing.—Desires time to consider.

S I R,

"YOUR Majesty's letter did extremely surprize me, to find I had mistaken the time your Majesty had allowed me to consider of the repealing our Penal laws and Test. Since I came to this place I have had very ill health, and this being the last week of the session, I have not had the opportunities so to discourse with any one of the law or gospel, as to receive that satisfaction as I can give your Majesty a positive answer how far I may join in the repeal of the Penal laws and Test for settling an intire liberty of conscience. I have been ever, and am still of the same opinion, that none should suffer for conscience-sake ; and that every peaceable subject should be allowed the exercise of their own religion ; but how this is to be done with security to the Protestant religion, our laws, and oaths, is in my humble opinion what will deserve serious consideration, and is above what I can presently determine myself in. Therefore I

do

do most humbly beg of your Majesty to pardon my not being more positive in my answer, and allow me a forbearance till I wait on you, and your Majesty may be assured, as on earth I desire nothing so much as your favour; so it will be no earthly consideration will make me do any thing to lose it, which would be the greatest affliction could come to, Sir," &c.

In Lord Preston's copy-book of dispatches there is the following order.

THAT the Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland do call before him, all the deputy-lieutenants, and justices of the peace, within his lieutenancy, either jointly, or separately, as he shall think best, and ask them, one by one, the following questions.

1. If in case he shall be chosen Knight of the Shire, or Burgesse of a town, when the King shall think fit to call a parliament, whether he will be for taking off the Penal laws, and the Tests.

2. Whether he will assist, and contribute, to the election of such member, as shall be for taking off the Penal laws, and Tests.

3. Whether he will support the King's declaration for liberty of conscience, by living friendly with those of all persuasions, as subjects of the same Prince, and good Christians ought to do.

As he shall ask these questions of all deputy-lieutenants, and justices of the peace; so he shall particularly write down what every one answers, whether he consents, refuseth, or is doubtful.

That he likewise do bring the King as good an account as he can of all the several corporations within the lieutenancy. What persons, of such as are willing to
comply

comply with these measures, have credit enough of their own, to be chosen parliament men, or may be chosen, if assisted by their friends.

And lastly, what Catholics, and what Dissenters are fit to be added, either to the list of the deputy-lieutenants, or to the commission of the peace, throughout the said lieutenancy."

Nº IV.

Letters to the Prince from Admiral Herbert, the Lords Shrewsbury, Lumley, Mr. Sidney, the Lords Latimer, Pembroke, Clarendon, Rochester, Halifax, and Nottingham; Admiral Russel, the Bishop of London, and Lord Churchill; together with the association of seven, which contain the intrigues of the Prince of Orange in England in the summer of the year 1688, conducted by Mr. Sydney and Count Zuliefstein.

After the petition of the Bishops, the connexion of the Prince of Orange with the friends of liberty in England was carried on chiefly by Mr. Russel afterwards Earl of Orford, and Mr. Sidney afterwards Earl of Romney, until the birth of the Prince of Wales, when the careless air of Count Zuliften was a second time made use of upon an errand of ceremony, to congratulate the birth of the Prince of Wales. But the real intention of his journey was to concert with the Prince's friends, his intended expedition to England.

From the time of the Bishops presenting their petition in the middle of May 1688, till the beginning of August, when Mr. Sidney went to Holland, and Count Zuliften returned to it, there are in King William's cabinet the following letters, among others, to the Prince of Orange.

Admiral Herbert to the Prince of Orange.—Upon the Prince's invitation communicated by Russel, is soon to go to Holland.

S I R,

“IT is from your Highness's great generosity, that I must hope for pardon for presuming to write in so unpolished a stile, which will not furnish me with words suitable to the sense I have of your Highness's goodness to me in the midst of my misfortunes. Sir, it is from Mr. Russel I have understood it to be your pleasure I should come over, where I may be assured of your Highness's protection; it is a favour I mean very soon to embrace, though I can never sufficiently acknowledge it either by expression or action, and therefore can only say, I have a life entirely at your devotion, and that I shall think every hour of it lost that is not employed in your Highness's service, to which if I can any ways contribute I shall no longer think myself unfortunate: This is what I most humbly beg your Highness will believe, and that I am with great sincerity, Sir,” &c.

London, May the 24th.

Lord Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for a pretence to go to the Prince.

London, May 14, 1688.

“WE live here, Sir, in a country where one must be of a very temperate constitution, not to meet with vexations that will more than try one's patience. I confess I had so set my heart upon the hopes of kissing your Highness's hands this summer, that it is with great regret that I see myself in danger of being disappointed of what I shall always esteem my pleasure as well as my duty: But wiser people assure me, that the jealousies of
our

our superiors augment so fast, that such a journey would be unserviceable to you, as well as unsafe to me. There is not a day that Mr. Sidney and I do not heartily lament this disappointment, and when one considers, that these suspicions are merely grounded upon their own actions, and the resentment they guess we may have of them, but not upon any occasion we have given, it seems a little too severe to be punished and restrained, because one has been already ill used. If I am a little warmer upon this subject than I ought, you would soon pardon me, if you knew how much I abominate all excuses; because commonly they are but shifts; and now to be forced to make one to your Highness, who of all men living I honour and esteem the most, is a hardship I cannot easily forgive; but I will not yet absolutely despair, there are many accidents may happen to give me a pretence, and the least plausible one I assure you shall serve my turn; and in what part of the world soever I am, I shall always be, Sir," &c.

Lord Lumley to the Prince of Orange.—With an offer of his services.

May it please your Highness,

"**T**HE respect and duty of all that can safely call themselves Englishmen is so much due to your Highness, that to defer any opportunity of showing it were to neglect that interest which can only make us happy. This, Sir, encouraged me humbly to offer to your Highness the utmost of my services, and to assure you that there is not a man in England, on whom your Highness may more certainly depend for whatever service I am capable of doing you. Until such time as I may have the honour of receiving any directions from your Highness, the good of my country shall be by all means

endeavoured by me, on whose fate your Highness's does not a little depend. That happiness may ensue to both, shall be always the endeavour of your Highness's," &c.

May 31st.

There is in the cabinet the following key to names in the hand-writing of Mr. Sidney, inclosed in one of his letters at this time to the Prince of Orange, without which the cyphers in some of the letters could not be understood.

" Lord Halifax	-	-	-	21
Lord of Nottingham	-	-	-	23
Lord Devonshire	-	-	-	24
Lord Shrewsbury	-	-	-	25
Lord of Danby	-	-	-	27
Lord Lumley	-	-	-	29
Lord of Bath	-	-	-	30
Bishop of London	-	-	-	31
Mr. Sidney	-	-	-	33
Mr. Ruffel	-	-	-	35

"This I desire you to keep by you."

Notwithstanding the Prince of Orange's desire to go to England, he avoided indulging it, until he should receive an invitation from some of the great English families. The following letter written either in a woman's hand, or in a hand feigned like a woman's, relates to such an invitation then in agitation.

To the Prince of Orange.—The invitation he expects not yet ready.—Lord Halifax backward.

June 18, 1688.

"THIS I suppose will be safely delivered, but yet I shall not say much; in a few days you will receive another, wherein you will know the mind of your
VOL. II. O friends.

friends. I believe you expected it before now, but it could not be ready; this is only in the name of your principal friends, which are $\frac{\text{Notting.}}{23.}$ $\frac{\text{Shrewsb.}}{25.}$ $\frac{\text{Danby.}}{27.}$ $\frac{\text{B. of London.}}{31.}$ $\frac{\text{Sidney.}}{33.}$ to desire you to defer making your complement till you have the letter I mention; what they are likely to advise in the next, you may easily guess, and prepare yourself accordingly. I shall write by Mr. Foster, who hath a mind to be employed, and will talk to you of things of importance; you know how he is to be managed, therefore I need give no further caution. The Lords I believe will act vigorously in the business of the bishops; they (the bishops) resolve when they come to their trial to deny the jurisdiction of court, which will anger extremely, and draw great punishment upon themselves. Then the Lords will petition in their behalf. $\frac{\text{Halifax.}}{21.}$ hath been backward in all this matter. $\frac{\text{Devonshire.}}{24.}$ hath been with me this afternoon, and I find will be entirely your friend."

Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—He is as much his servant on the 18th, as he was on the 9th of June.

London, June 18, 1688.

"**R**ATHER than disoblige Mr. Foster, I am forced to trouble your Highness. I promised to write by him, and had then a prospect of saying more than I am now able to do, but I hope that will not be deferred many days. I have the honour and happiness to know your humour too well to fill up a letter with compliments, having nothing substantial to say, but that I am this eighteenth of June as much as I was the ninth, your Highness's most devoted, and obedient, humble servant."

The expression in this letter, that he was as much the Prince of Orange's at the date of the letter, is singular.

It

It either refers to some meeting of the party which had been on the 9th of June, or it implies that the birth of the Prince of Wales, which was on the 10th of June, has made no alteration in his sentiments.

At length the invitation for the Prince to come over, or rather the association for joining him when he should come, was signed on the 30th of June 1688, by Lord Devonshire, Lord Danby, Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, the Bishop of London, Admiral Russel, and Mr. Sidney. Immortal seven ! whose memories Britain can never sufficiently revere. The original is in Sidney's hand in King William's cabinet, as follows :

The association signed only by seven, inviting the Prince of Orange over.

June 30, 1688.

“ WE have great satisfaction to find by 35, and since by Mons. Zulestein, that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us such assistance as they have related to us. We have great reason to believe, we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance ; but although these be our wishes, yet we will, by no means, put your Highness into any expectations which may misguide your own councils in this matter ; so that the best advice we can give, is to inform your Highness truly both of the state of things here at this time, and of the difficulties which appear to us. As to the first, the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government, in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded), and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

worse, that your Highness may be assured, there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom, who are desirous of a change; and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as would secure them from being destroyed, before they could get to be in a posture able to defend themselves; it is no less certain, that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak to many of them before hand; and there is no doubt but that some of the most considerable of them would venture themselves with your Highness at your first landing, whose interests would be able to draw great numbers to them, whenever they could protect them and the raising and drawing men together; and if such a strength could be landed as were able to defend itself and them, till they could be got together into some order, we make no question but that strength would quickly be increased to a number double to the army here, although their army should all remain firm to them; whereas we do upon very good grounds believe, that their army then would be very much divided among themselves; many of the officers being so discontented that they continue in their service only for a subsistence (besides that, some of their minds are known already), and very many of the common soldiers do daily shew such an aversion to the Popish religion, that there is the greatest probability imaginable of great numbers of deserters which would come from them, should there be such an occasion; and amongst the seamen, it is almost certain, there is not one in ten who would do them any service in such a war. Besides all this, we do much doubt, whether this present state of things will not yet be much changed to the worse before another year, by a great alteration which will probably be made both in the officers and soldiers of the army, and by such other changes as are not only to be expected

expected from a packed parliament, but what the meeting of any parliament (in our present circumstances) may produce against those, who will be looked upon as principal obstructors of their proceedings there; it being taken for granted, that if things cannot then be carried to their wishes in a parliamentary way, other measures will be put in execution by more violent means; and although such proceedings will then heighten the discontents, yet such courses will probably be taken at that time, as will prevent all possible means of relieving ourselves.

These considerations make us of opinion, that this is a season in which we may more probably contribute to our own safeties than hereafter (although we must own to your Highness there are some judgments differing from ours in this particular), in so much that if the circumstances stand so with your Highness, that you believe you can get here time enough, in a condition to give assistances this year sufficient for a relief under these circumstances which have been now represented, we who subscribe this, will not fail to attend your Highness upon your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in as much readiness as such an action is capable of, where there is so much danger in communicating an affair of such a nature, till it be near the time of its being made public. But as we have already told your Highness, we must also lay our difficulties before your Highness, which are chiefly; that we know not what alarm your preparations for this expedition may give, or what notice it will be necessary for you to give the States before hand, by either of which means their intelligence or suspicions here, may be such, as may cause us to be secured before your landing; and we must presume to inform your Highness, that your compliment upon the birth of the child (which not one in a thousand here believes to be the Queen's) hath done you some injury; the false imposing
of

of that upon the Princess and the nation, being not only an infinite exasperation of people's minds here, but being certainly one of the chief causes upon which the declaration of your entering the kingdom in a hostile manner, must be founded on your part, although many other reasons are to be given on ours. If, upon a due consideration of all these circumstances, your Highness shall think fit to adventure upon the attempt, or at least to make such preparations for it as are necessary (which we wish you may), there must be no more time lost, in letting us know your resolution concerning it, and in what time we may depend that all the preparations will be ready, as also whether your Highness does believe the preparations can be so managed as not to give them warning here, both to make them increase their force, and to secure those they shall suspect would join with you. We need not say any thing about ammunition, artillery, mortar pieces, spare arms, &c. because if you think fit to put any thing in execution, you will provide enough of these kinds, and will take care to bring some good engineers with you; and we have desired Mr. H. to consult you about all such matters, to whom we have communicated our thoughts in many particulars too tedious to have been written, and about which no certain resolutions can be taken, till we have heard again from your Highness.

25. 24. 27. 29. 31. 35. 33.
Sh. Dev. Danby. Lumley. London. Russel. Sydney,

Mr. Sidney to the Prince of Orange.—Expresses fears of the design.—Advises him to borrow Schomberg.—Nottingham's heart has failed him.

June 30, 1688.

“THE bearer hereof carrying with him a letter from the most prudent and most knowing persons that we have in this nation, and he himself being well instructed in the condition of our affairs, it is a presumption in me to think of adding any thing else; but you having ever given me leave to speak freely to you, I have ever told you every thought of my heart. I am too much concerned for your interest, your life, and your reputation, to say a word of persuasion to you to undertake this matter; you know your own business best, what power you have over the fleet and the army, and whether you can transport men with privacy; for it is most certain, that if it be made public above a fortnight before it be put in execution, all your particular friends will be clapped up, which will terrify others, or at least make them not know what to do, and will, in all probability, ruin the whole design. If you go on with this undertaking, I think I shall not do amiss, to put you in mind of one man that, I believe, will be very useful to you; it is the Mareschal Schomberg, who (by what you told me of him, and by what he writ to me) I do not doubt but he will be ready to serve you; he hath the reputation all the world over of being knowing in his profession, and besides he is extremely beloved in this country, so that if you could borrow him for a while, it would be of great advantage to this affair. I give you many thanks for yours by Monf. Zulestein, and the particular favour in it; I am indeed of opinion, that if you think fit to go on with this business, that after three weeks

weeks I shall be more serviceable to you near your person, than I can be here; and if you are of that mind, I desire you will command me to come to you, or else it may be some of my associates will not like my going, though one of them hath already told me it is absolutely necessary. When I know your pleasure, I will endeavour to be with you in a few days, with leave or without. Your friends have desired Mons. Zulestein to stay here till you send an answer to the letter, and to avoid giving suspicion, he is advised to go into the country for some days. This letter being writ in my own known hand, I hope you will burn it as soon as you have read it, and the other being so too, I desire you will have it copied, or else I may suffer for it seven years hence.

You will wonder, I believe, not to see the number ²³ Not. among the other figures; he was gone very far, but now his heart fails him, and he will go no further; he saith 'tis scruples of conscience, but we all conclude 'tis another passion; every body else is as well as one can wish, and I pray God they may live to do you the service so much desired by all honest men."

The two following letters from Lord Latimer and Lord Pembroke, though without dates, were probably written about this time.

Lord Latimer to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's.—Assures him of his services.

"I DO with all humility imaginable acknowledge the great honour of your Highness's letter, and do with no less joy receive from your Highness's own hand the assurance of being in your Highness's good opinion. On any occasion could make me so happy as to give your Highness a testimony suitable to my desires, I am fur

my actions would afford no cause to lessen your Highness's favour towards me, and, I hope (beside the nearness of relation in blood betwixt my master and your Highness), the warmth of interest will be so great a consideration on both sides, as may give opportunity to such as intend my master's good, to make one of the best steps towards it by promoting your Highness's; and for what services I may be capable in my own particular, I beg your Highness to believe that nobody shall exceed me, as, in truth, none can now, in the high esteem which all the world must acknowledge to be due to your great merit. I dare trouble your Highness no longer, than to declare the great ambition I have to receive any commands from your Highness, and to assure your Highness they shall be most readily obeyed with all duty and respect, as becomes, may it please your Highness, your Highness's most obedient, and most humble servant."

Lord Pembroke to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

"YOUR Highness will not wonder why I give you the trouble of a letter now, but rather if I should not, considering the opportunity that offers itself by one to whom I have been very much obliged, and by one from whom I had the satisfaction of being assured of your Highness's favourable opinion of me. Though your Highness (for many reasons) can never want so inconsiderable a service as mine, yet you will be pleased to give me leave (till I can testify my service some other way) to subscribe myself, your Highness's most humble servant."

Part of a letter from Lord Clarendon to the Prince of Orange, in answer to a letter from the Princess.—A letter of compliment.

July 7, 1688.

“**H**AVING lately had a letter from the Princess with the gracious assurance in it, that your Highness is pleased to approve of my conduct in our late affairs, it is so great a consolation to me, that I hope you will not be offended at this my presumption, in returning your Highness my most humble acknowledgments, and I beseech you to believe, that I am incapable of doing any thing to displease you; no man is free from ill offices being done him, but I am sure your Highness is too just to suffer them to make impression in you to any man’s prejudice, without enquiring into the truth, and when you do that, you will find all misrepresentations of me, to have more of malice in them, than of service to your Highness, so that I take myself to be very secure in your favourable opinion, which I will study always to preserve; and that my brother should not be so, is an unspeakable mortification to me; but I will not presume to give your Highness any trouble concerning him.”

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.—Makes apologies for his past conduct.

“**I** Most humbly beg your Highness’s pardon for presuming to write to you, after I know how much I am in your displeasure; but your Highness being used to receive petitions from those that offend you, may be pleased to look upon this letter in the nature of a very humble one to your Highness, to beseech you that what ground soever you have had for your anger, you will have

have the goodness to think it hath lasted long enough against a man in my circumstances, which as on one hand they are too low to be long taken notice of by so great a Prince, so on the other, they are such as do now, and will ever make me have as great a duty to your person as any man living can have. I hope your Highness can forgive any faults that are not malicious, and if you will be pleased to reflect what interest I can have contrary to your Highness's, I am sure you will conclude, whatever my offences are, they must be the effect of folly and indiscretion, rather than of wilfullness to displease you: I say whatever they are, because I find it is for diverse reasons that your Highness is unsatisfied with me. I call God to witness, that except my not paying my duty to your Highness when I was last out of England, I cannot accuse myself of any thing disrespectful or undutiful towards you; and whatever I may have to say for myself for that very great fault, I do most humbly ask your pardon for it, and will do so for the others too, if your Highness shall condemn me whenever you have heard me. And I do most humbly beseech you, that since I would every day of my life do any thing to serve you, I may not have the mortification to see how little you value it. I have written to her Royal Highness the Princess upon this subject; and though I have had occasion to write on one account more particularly to her, than it is possible for me to offer to your Highness, yet I humbly desire you to believe I look upon your interests as one; and your Highness may be confident I will be honest, just, and dutiful to you both. I submit myself to your displeasure, and whatever you determine, I will always continue with the humblest duty," &c.

New-park, July 10, 1688.

The Prince of Orange gave orders that Lord Halifax should not be trusted with the secret of the intended ex-

petition. It is not likely that the spirit of dissertation in the following letter from Lord Halifax, was, more than in his former letters, very pleasing to a person who always loved deeds more than words.

Letter from Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Slow counsels.

July 25, 1688.

“SO many things have happened of late, that it is reasonable enough to conclude, upon the first apprehension of them, that they should produce great alterations in reference to the public; and yet with all this, upon a strict observation of all circumstances, I see nothing to raise more hopes on one side, or to incline the other to despair. I find that every new attempt bringeth a fresh disadvantage upon the great design, which is exposed and disappointed by so many repeated mistakes; the world is so much confirmed, that there is every day less danger of being overrun; the several parties, though differing never so much in other things, seem to agree in their resolution of preserving, by all legal means, the securities of their religion and their laws. The business concerning the bishops hath had such an effect, that it is hardly to be imagined; the consequences are not seen to their full extent by the men in power, though they are not a little mortified by the ill success of it: I look upon it as that which hath brought all the Protestants together, and bound them up into a knot, that cannot easily be untied. It is one of those kind of faults that can never be repaired: All that can be done to mend it will probably make it worse, as is seen already by every step that hath been since made to recover the reputation they have lost by it. It is given out, that there will be yet some further proceedings against

against the bishops; but in that I am an unbeliever, as well as concerning the meeting of parliament; my opinion being still the same as I gave your Highness in my last, the continuance of the discourse of it, and even by those who are presumed to know best, doth not at all make me alter my judgment. A parliament can never be an indifferent thing, and therefore it is a very weak argument to say that it will be tried, and if it doth not comply, it shall be dissolved. Things of this kind are not to be so handled; the consequences may be too great to make the experiment, without better grounds to expect success than at present appear. In short, I still remain persuaded that there is no effectual progress made towards the great design; and even the thing that party relieth upon, is subject to so many accidents and uncertainties, that according to human probability we are secure, notwithstanding the ill appearances which fright most, when they are least examined. I wish your Highness all happiness, and to myself the continuance of your good opinion, which cannot be more valued by any man living, than it is by your most devoted servant."

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—Insinuates for a delay.—Sorry if he differs from others.

May it please your Highness,

"THE honour of being in your Highness's good opinion, and the continuance of your favour, of which you were pleased to assure me in your letter by Mr. Zulisten, would make me undertake any task to render me worthy of it, if I could hope to perform it to your satisfaction; but to give your Highness a just account of affairs here not as news, but to judge rightly of them, is so very difficult that I must not pretend to it; nevertheless, in obedience to your commands,

mands, I have acquainted Mr. Zulisten with my apprehensions of some of the latest occurrences here, that he may humbly represent them to your Highness.

The birth of a Prince of Wales, and the designs of a further prosecution of the bishops, and of new modelling the army and calling of a parliament, are matters that afford various reflections. But I cannot apprehend from them such ill consequences to our religion, or the just interests of your Highness, that a little time will not effectually remedy, nor can I imagine that the Papists are able to make any further considerable progress; and the reasons of this opinion, I have discoursed with Mr. Zulisten, that I might not trouble your Highness with too long a letter; but if they should not be satisfactory to your Highness, or should differ from the sentiments of others, I beseech you not to misconstrue my opinion as proceeding from any want of zeal to the service of your Highness, upon whom depends not only the welfare of this nation, but the fate of Europe too; for I shall always discharge my duty to you with the utmost fidelity, and have no greater ambition than to be your Highness's," &c.

London, July 27, 1688.

The following cant letter to the Prince, appears to me to be Russel's hand.

Admiral Russel to the Prince of Orange,

S I R,

"THE honour, your Highness was pleased to do me by Monsieur Zulisten, I can never enough acknowledge. I must beg your Highness to believe me a man so sensible of the favours you have been pleased to do me, that my life and fortune is absolutely at your disposal,

disposal. It shall be my whole business and study, to render you all the service I am capable of; and if my success be not answerable to my intentions, be pleased to believe it proceeds from ill fortune, and not want of inclination. I hope your Highness finds your new visitor [probably Admiral Herbert] answers the character you have had of him; the King is most extremely angry with him, and I have some reason to believe he disappointed the court, they having some thoughts of making offers for him to take employments. Since I came into England, Mr. Roberts is grown so warm, that I can hardly prevail with him to stay for his being turned out. He is now resolved not to talk of the Test, and Penal laws, nor indeed any thing they would have him do; I believe, he is at this time so ill at court, that his reign there will hardly last a month; he has desired me to assure your Highness of his utmost service. When Monsieur Dickfield went away, he writ to you, but you were pleased never to take any notice of it; if you think convenient, a letter to him of your good opinion, relating to himself, would not be amiss; but I submit to your better judgment. You will hear by the bearer, all the news we have. When your Highness thinks the time proper for Mr. Roberts' mistress to know your thoughts, be pleased to let him tell it her, it will be better, in my humble opinion, than by letter. The number of your friends here daily increase; but some persons on your side the water, take such liberty in writing news, and naming people, that, I fear, it may give the court occasion to be angry with them, much to their prejudice, and not much to your service. I will not trouble you longer on this subject, only beg you will please to believe me your Highness's most faithful, humble servant."

London, July 28, 1688.

Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince concerning the seven Bishops.

S I R,

July 28, 1688.

“**T**HE honour your Highness did me in laying the charge upon me, to communicate to my Lords the Bishops, how much you were concerned in their behalf, had its just effect upon them, for they are highly sensible of the great advantage both they and the church have, by the firmness of so powerful a friend; and as I dare undertake, they shall never make an ill use of it, so I am very sure they will entirely rely upon it on all just occasions. I dare likewise take upon me to assure you, that both they that suffered, and the rest who concurred with them, are so well satisfied of the justness of their cause, that they will lay down their lives, before they will in the least depart from it.

I should say something of myself, but I had so lately an opportunity of making my mind known to you, that it can be to no purpose to say more now to you, than that I am under all the obligation in the world of approving myself, Sir, your Highness's most devoted and faithful servant.”

Lord Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—Upon the departure of Zulistein.—The Prince's friends increase.

London, July 28, 1688.

“**M**ONsieur Zulistein, Sir, will go away so well instructed in all particulars relating to our affairs, that it would be but impertinence to add any thing to what he has learned from better hands: I hope he will represent them in such a posture as will not displease your Highness. The papers you mention are preparing with

all expedition. If the violence of my wishes do not deceive me, I flatter myself you never had more friends in England than now: May they increase till they are as numerous and as faithful as he wishes, that is, with all sincerity and respect, Sir," &c.

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.—A spirited letter.

S I R,

August 4, 1688.

"MR. Sidney will let you know how I intend to behave myself: I think it is what I owe to God and my country. My honour I take leave to put into your Royal Highness's hands, in which I think it safe. If you think there is any thing else that I ought to do, you have but to command me, and I shall pay an entire obedience to it, being resolved to die in that religion that it has pleased God to give you both the will and power to protect. I am, with all respect, Sir," &c.

Nº V.

Intrigues of the Prince of Orange with the Pope, the Emperor, and the Elector of Brandenburg, previous to his expedition.

While these intrigues were carrying on in England, the Prince, who was not daunted either with the variations in Lord Mordaunt's opinions, or the anxious, though friendly fears of Sidney, or the learned indolence of Halifax, or the sudden failure in the nerves of Lord Nottingham, kept on straight forward and steady in his course.

The following letters will shew the arts by which the Prince of Orange imposed upon the Pope to advance money for an attack, as he thought, upon France, but

which was afterwards turned against England. Copies of the letters were given me by Mr. Lumefden, a gentleman formerly in the service of the Stuart family at Rome, the misfortunes of whose youth have lost one of the most ingenious of his countrymen to Britain. He told me the originals were in the *Depot des Affaires Etrangères* at Paris. I am ashamed to own I forgot to ask for them when I was there.

Translation.

Extract of two letters written by Cardinal d'Estrées, ambassador extraordinary from Louis the XIVth, to the court of Rome, concerning the league of Augsbουργ.—Intrigues of the Emperour, Pope, and Prince of Orange, previous to the revolution.

To Mr. de Louvois.

December 18, 1687.

“THE 12th of December, 1687, *le Petit** gave a note, at the gate of St. Peter, to Gut†, by which he advised me, that the person who went every day disguised to Count Cassoni in the manner I wrote your Majesty the 15th of November past, was a Dutchman, but he did not know his name. There is no doubt of his being the Burgomaster Ouir. I informed *le Gut* of it. You will inform his Majesty that as soon as *le Gut* was certain that *Ouir* was the person who conferred with Cassoni, he took the resolution, without communicating it to me, to place himself with his two valets‡ at ten paces from Antonio Ferri's door, where

* Clerk to M. Cassoni, secretary to Pope Innocent the eleventh.

† He was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Louis the XIVth, and acted as a spy at the court of Rome.

‡ One of these servants of *le Gut* was called *le Gascon*, the other *le Breton*.

this Burgomaster lodged, to see Ouir come out. About midnight he saw him all at once in the street, shutting Ferri's door, disguised as a porter, which they call here *fachino*. He followed him till he entered the Vatican, to go to Cassoni's apartment. *Le Gut* with his two valets placed themselves as centinels till they saw Ouir come out of the Vatican. About three in the morning, *le Gut* with *le Gascon* and *le Breton* followed him at a distance, and as soon as they saw him enter into *la Longara*, *le Breton* who was foremost leaped upon him. *Le Gut* and *le Gascon* came up immediately. *Le Gut* presented a dagger to his throat, and told him, that if he made the least motion he was a dead man, for he would stab him. Whilst *le Gut* regaled him with this compliment, the two valets searched him from head to foot in a little time, and took all the letters and papers he had about him. As soon as *le Gut* had the writings in his possession, he released Ouir. He came to me, opened the door of my palace with his key, went up the back stairs, and gave notice to my maitre d'hotel by one of my valets: They waked me; I got up and put on my night-gown. I went into my closet, where I found *Gut* very well pleased with the success of his attempt, which I have just told you of. I ordered him some victuals, for he was almost famished. He declared to me that he had not eat for 18 hours. As soon as he had supped, he gave me the letters he had intercepted upon Ouir. We opened the paquet, and saw that Cassoni's letters were directed to the Emperor and the Duke of Lorraine.

The secretary to the Pope informed the Duke of Lorraine, that his Holiness had received a particular joy upon learning that his Imperial Majesty had brought almost all the Princes of Europe to league themselves against the King of France: He remarked to him, that what

gave the holy Father a good deal of pain was, to hear that the English were resolved to dethrone their King, if he would not take a firm resolution to make war against France, abolish the catholic religion entirely, and join himself to the league of Augsbourg.

However, Cassoni said, that one of the first things his Holiness wishes the Emperor to do, after the war is declared, is to lay siege to all the places which France has taken from the Elector of Cologne, with a design to give the possession of them to Cardinal Furstemberg in the quality of Elector, though his Holiness would never own nor acknowledge him as such, nor yet confirm the postulation; and that the holy Pontiff was very glad that the Prince of Orange was to go into Germany to sustain at the head of two armies the interests of the Emperor and his Holiness against Cardinal Furstemberg and France at the same time. To effect this, Count Cassoni promises on the Pope's part to send the Emperor large sums of money, without specifying the quantity, to be given to the Prince of Orange, to the end that they may both continue the war more easily against the most Christian King.

Upon reading over and over this fine project both in Cassoni's letters, and the papers taken from Ouir, we there saw the instructions which the Emperor, the Duke of Lorrain, and the Prince of Orange had given to the worthy Burgomaster, the whole of which turned upon what I have just wrote you, and you will see in Count Cassoni's letters. I repeat it, we were extremely surprised to see that his Holiness had just concluded a treaty with the Emperor against the eldest son of the church, who only sought to maintain his own interests; and that his Holiness had approved of a league made by the greater part of the Princes of Europe against the King of France. After having considered a little, I took a resolution

lution to make known the substance of these matters to le Petit, with orders to use his utmost endeavours to discover what passed in the cabinet of Mr. Cassoni. He informed me on the 14th, that with a great deal of trouble he had found amongst the papers of this secretary to the Pope, in a secret corner of his small cabinet, where he kept the papers which he had not yet used, that the English had agreed with the Prince of Orange to dethrone King James the Second, and place the Princess of Orange his daughter upon the throne, and consequently her husband William; that the English were also resolved to take away the life of their King and of the Prince of Wales, if the Queen was brought to-bed of a son; and that the Prince of Orange was not to go into Germany to command the Emperor's troops; that it was only a mere pretence to amuse the Pope and the public, in order that they might have no suspicion of this Prince's wanting to raise himself to the throne of England; and that for certain the holy Father knew nothing of this fatal intrigue against King James the Second, for he had been only made to believe that the Prince of Orange was to go to Germany. Le Petit makes no doubt that the matter stands so, since the memorials that he found are not ranged with those which the Pope had seen and approved; and that of all this affair nothing appeared upon the secretary's table to refer to them according to their endorsements, which is necessary for the Pope's secretary, that he may directly find those articles which he has treated and finished with his Holiness as soon as he wants them: That at present he is writing and working on what the holy Pontiff has just promised to the Emperor, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Prince of Orange, who was to go into Germany to command his Imperial Majesty's troops; but that this command was only a fable.

As

As soon as I learnt the horrible attempt that was intended against King James and the royal family, I informed the young Lord Northfolk of it, who was here incognito, as you know, to endeavour to discover the intrigues of the Vatican, which it was to be feared were forming against his master : My lord immediately dispatched two couriers to his Britannic Majesty, one by land, the other by sea, to inform him of all I have told you.

You know that Holland, the Electors, and Spain have declared against us. I fear also that the Duke of Savoy will also make war upon us. I have some foresight of it, from certain discourses which I don't yet write you, because I am not yet sufficiently informed : He should be watched very narrowly.

Our confidential cardinals are informed of the part they are to play. Le Petit is an able man, and le Gut is so in the superlative degree. These two persons are the cause of all this discovery ; for what we knew before was extremely uncertain. Le Gut, who supped with me yesterday, has desired me to write to you to beg you will take the trouble to let his Majesty know that he will not quit Ouir, till he discovers and knows all the places in Rome he frequents. Le Breton gave me, on the part of his master le Gut, a note by which he informs me that Ouir had opened a shop in the Place Navone, where he sold all sorts of artificial flowers and fruits, and little wax images ; and that he had a Venetian boy who worked wonderfully well at this sort of business."

Cardinal d' Etrées to Louis the XIVth.

June 29, 1688.

"**THEY** are in much pain in the Vatican to know how your Majesty could so soon be acquainted with the project and all the articles of the league of Augsbourg.

bourg. The Spanish ambassador has been sick upon it, and is yet much disordered. He tries every means to discover those who have given your Majesty the information.

By the last letter I wrote to Monsieur Louvois, I informed him of the action which your Majesty's le Gut did to the captain of the town-guard, and all his troop of Sbiri, to the number of 50. As soon as he heard them approach the place where he had placed himself to see who went to Cardinal who is Cassoni's adviser, he began by calling his two valets, le Breton and le Gascon, and made them cry out,—“ Long live the King of France.”—After that he made them say,—“ Stop at the gate of the court.—Long live Great Louis—may all his enemies perish.”—These three men obliged the captain and his 50 Sbiri to fly in the greatest haste, and take shelter with the Pope's guard, who put themselves under arms as fast as they could; and your Gut had the pleasure to remain in a place from whence he could see this rascally company, who did not leave the post they had taken, till day-light.

The 24th instant, le Petit being gone to Notre Dame des Neiges, and le Gut being upon duty, he gave him a letter by which he advised him that Ouir was to be with Cassoni to take his letters, which would be found in the fruits which he pretended to go to sell him, and left him to take his measures.

Next day, the 25th, your le Gut, Sire, without communicating to me his design, did not fail to go and place himself as a centinel near to Ouir's house, in such a manner that he could not be discovered. He saw the burgomaster go out with his basket hanging about his neck. He followed him till he went into Mr. Cassoni's: At this moment he heard the clock strike eleven. Ouir came out an hour and an half after midnight. Le Gut dressed himself this night as a porter, with his two servants: These three personages followed the burgomaster. As soon as
he

he was about a thousand paces from the Vatican, they saw he took his way along a small street; as soon as he was entered they mended their pace, overtook him and seized him, presenting a dagger to his throat. As soon as Ouir was at their discretion, le Gut rummaged him, but found nothing on him; this obliged him to take away his basket full of artificial fruits: He gave it to le Breton, who brought it to me. I waited, Sire, with impatience for your le Gut, because he had sent me word he would come and sup with me, but that it would be late. I then thought that he was about some enterprize for your service, which I could not divine. His valet entering my room, gave me the basket that le Gut had taken from Ouir. It was no sooner opened than in my life I never saw any thing better executed. I admired the fruits a little while, and then ranged them upon my table. As soon as I had finished, I heard your le Gut, who opened the back door of my closet, which obliged me to go into it; and he informed me, that after having taken the basket from Ouir, he conducted him to about ten paces from his door, and on that spot told him, that he had followed him ever since he had been at Rome, and that it was Signora Hortensia who was the cause of his letters and papers being taken from him some time ago, and it was she also who had occasioned the loss of his basket; and if during the course of next day he did not quit Rome, she would cause him to be thrown into the Tiber.

After le Gut had acquainted me with his adventure, and that he had always spoken low Dutch to the burgo-master, he asked for supper, which being finished, he asked me what I would do with Ouir's merchandize. I told him I thought it so fine that I designed it for your Majesty. Le Gut replied that he would open the whole, and in the mean time made my maitre d'hotel, who waited on us, bring them. He broke all the fruits in my presence,

sence, which he had no sooner done, than I owned he had reason. We found all round these fruits brass wires under green silk that covered them, and which were stuck into the lemons, figs, and grapes, with little flags of paper writ in cypher. Le Gut took and ranged them according to their number, and decyphered them, and there we found the schemes and good intentions of the Duke of Savoy for the ruin of your dominions.

The design of his Highness is not openly to take part with your enemies, as you will see: And I think if your Majesty deals properly with this Prince, you may oblige him to turn to the side of France, or remain neuter. The series of Cassoni's letters shows the forces which the Emperor, England, and Holland are to employ against you, Sire; and the assistance the Emperor and the King of Spain are to give to the Duke of Savoy when it shall be necessary. The number of Barbotes and new converts, according to their computation, will amount to more than one hundred thousand men, which is the number of those who are gone out of your dominions; and all the others in general who remain in the kingdom, are to take arms against your Majesty as soon as the trumpet of your enemies sounds. Your Majesty may know by this how much the Pope's minister amuses him with chimeras, since at this hour that I have the honour to write to you, his Holiness believes France ruined, by means of all the fables which Count Cassoni has entertained him with.

Your Majesty will receive then in this packet all the flags which were in Ouir's fruits, with a letter from le Gut, to shew you, Sire, in what manner to range them. You will also see the care with which Ouir and Cassoni have adjusted them, to give your enemies the means of reading them without trouble. After le Gut had finished his letter, he begged me to assure your Majesty, that if you will keep two of your gallies at Civita Vecchia, he

obliges himself, under penalty of losing his head, to carry off Cassoni from the midst of Rome, or from his chamber, provided your Majesty desires it, and will let him have twenty gentlemen and as many guardes marines; and promises he will get Cassoni put aboard one of the gallies, and conduct him to Marseilles or Toulon, or any other place you please, before any one in Rome knows what is become of this secretary. He farther said to me, that if he dared, he would make the offer, Sire, which Mr. de Lyonne formerly made, of going to Rome to stab Don Mario, brother to Pope Alexander the seventh, after the attempt that the Corsicans made upon the person of Madam the Ambassadors de Crequi in her coach; but knowing how much her Majesty abhors bloodshed, he contents himself with offering, at the peril of his life, to bring the Count Cassoni to what place you please bound and gagged, to make him pay, by his confinement, for the folly of the bad councils he has given. Ouir has not appeared in Rome since the 26th; the pretended shop is shut; so that he is either in hiding, or gone."

The credit given in the first of these letters to a wild story of a concert in England to murder the King and his son, if he should have one, is a strong instance of the mistakes of foreigners, with regard to the character of a people, who, because they are more high-spirited, are therefore more honourable in their resentments than the rest of mankind: Yet perhaps these letters may account for the ridiculous fear which James was under at the revolution, for his own life and that of his son. The letters are probably right with regard to the intentions of the Prince of Orange to mount the throne of England. In King William's box there is a letter to him from the
 Eleaor

Electors of Brandenburg, from which there is reason to conjecture, that at his interview with the Elector at Minden, a few months before he sailed for England, such an object had not been altogether out of sight.

Translation.

The Elector of Brandenburg to King William.—Mentions the wishes he had formed at the interview at Minden for his elevation to the throne.

My Lord, my most honoured cousin and brother,

“ I Cannot express the greatness of the joy caused in me, by the completion of the wishes which some years ago I had formed, and particularly six months ago at Minden, for your elevation to the throne of England, which is due to you equally by blood, and by the advantage which England, and all the protestants together, even all Europe, receives by your means. I felicitate your Majesty with all my soul, and wish that the great God, who has miraculously put you on this throne, may preserve long years to you, and add to them the good fortune of an happy issue. In the mean time I promise myself on my side from your Majesty, the same sentiments of goodness and tenderness which you have always had for me, who shall be for ever, my dear and most honoured cousin and brother,

Your Highness's most humble,

Berlin,

And most devoted servant,

27th Feb. 1689.

FREDRICK, ELECTOR.”

But if the Prince of Orange, in coming to England, had really the intention of mounting the throne, he deceived the Emperor as well as the Pope. In his cabinet there is a copy of the following letter from him to the Emperor a short time before he sailed :

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to the Emperor.—Assures him, that in his expedition to England, he has no intention to dethrone King James, or to injure the Roman Catholics.

S I R,

“ I COULD not fail to give information to your Imperial Majesty, that the misunderstandings which have subsisted for some time between the King of Great Britain and his subjects are come to so great extremities, that being upon the point of breaking out into a formal rupture, they have obliged me to pass the sea, on account of the lively and reiterated instances which have been made to me by many Peers and other considerable persons of the kingdom, as well ecclesiastical as secular. I think it necessary to carry some troops of infantry and cavalry there, that I may not be exposed to the insults of those, who, by their bad counsels, and by the violences which followed them, have given occasion to these extreme misunderstandings. I assure your Imperial Majesty by this letter, that whatever reports may have been spread, and notwithstanding those which may be spread for the future, I have not the least intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his kingdoms, and still less to make an attempt upon the crown, or to desire to appropriate it to myself.

Neither have I any desire to extirpate the Roman Catholics, but only to employ my cares to endeavour to redress the disorders and irregularities which have been committed against the laws of those kingdoms by the bad counsels of the ill intentioned.

I will also endeavour in a parliament lawfully assembled, and composed of persons duly qualified according to the

laws of the nation, to procure the regulation of affairs in such a manner, that the protestant religion, with the liberties and rights of the clergy, nobility, and people, may be put in entire security. By this means alone there is place to hope, that there will follow a good union and sincere confidence between the King and his subjects, that they may be in a condition of being able to contribute powerfully to the common good. I must add, that in the design which I have of endeavouring to prevent the continuation of these misunderstandings, and to strengthen so good an union upon solid foundations, I ought to intreat your Imperial Majesty to be assured, that I will employ all my credit to provide, that the Roman Catholics of that country may enjoy liberty of conscience, and be put out of fear of being persecuted on account of their religion; and provided they exercise their religion without noise, and with modesty, that they shall not be subject to any punishment.

I have at all times had a great aversion to all sort of persecution upon religious matters among Christians.

I pray God, who is powerful over all, to bless this my sincere intention, and I dare promise that it will not displease your Majesty,

I pray God also, that he may cover you with his best blessing. I am with all sort of respect."

Nº VI.

Letters from Barillon to his court, which shew that King James intended to break the act of settlement in Ireland, and had three Popish regiments in England in the pay of France.—And intrigues of Lord Sunderland.—And King James's last letters to the Prince of Orange.

There are facts in Barillon's dispatches sufficient to show that the revolution was a measure of the most absolute

lute necessity. An English reader may not be surprised to hear, that King James had resolved to make void the act of settlement in Ireland, in order to have it in his power to make use of Irish Catholics for the establishment of his authority in England. But he will be astonished to learn a fact hitherto unknown and unsuspected, that towards the end of the reign of King James, there were in England three Popish regiments regularly paid by France.

Lord Tyrconnel was the person who first suggested this project, and connected it with another equally pleasing to the King, to wit, that the British regiments in the Dutch service should be recalled from that service. The secrets of these things are to be found in the following dispatches :

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—
King James is to propose that Louis should take into his
pay a regiment formed of the British troops, to be recalled
from Holland.—The views of this.—In the Depot.

October 13, 1687.

“**L**ORD Sunderland acquainted me that his master was to speak to me about an affair of consequence, and that he would explain it to me, to the end I might be prepared when his Britannic Majesty should communicate it to me.

The fact is, that the King of England is resolved to withdraw his troops which are in the service of the States General : He expects indeed that a great number of the officers and soldiers will remain in Holland, but also a good part may return here, and principally the Catholics, and all those who are not entirely gained by the Prince of Orange. However desirous his Britannic Majesty may
 be

be to recall these troops, it is difficult for him to do it without having easy means of subsisting those who shall be recalled, and keeping them together in one body. The expedient of augmenting the troops which are on foot here would be the most natural, but there is already as great a number as the King of England can maintain. His thought therefore is, to propose to your Majesty the taking into your service a regiment of infantry, composed of the officers and soldiers to be recalled from Holland; this regiment will be entirely at your Majesty's own disposal, it being understood nevertheless, that when the King of England shall have occasion for them in his own country, your Majesty will not refuse to send them back.

The reasons which oblige this Prince to make this proposal are, that by this means there would be a new corps on foot, which would be better kept up and better disciplined than those which are in this country; that it will be a nursery to educate and form Catholic soldiers, who will not be informed of the dangerous maxims to monarchy, which are spread throughout all England, and from which even the Catholics are not entirely exempt; that without this, it will be difficult for him to recall so soon the troops which are in Holland, he not being able to subsist them easily together, although he knows of how much consequence it is to him not to permit to exist any longer a corps of troops of his own subjects, the greatest number of whom are not in his interests, and would serve against him if the occasion offered.

Lord Sunderland having explained this, said, he judged this affair was not easily to be obtained of your Majesty; that in time of peace your Majesty would not easily think of taking into your service a body of foreign troops, the expence of which would exceed that of a like number of your own subjects; that it was well known what had happened some years

ago with regard to the English troops which were in France; and that your Majesty had perhaps formed for ever a dislike at taking them into your service, and making an extraordinary expence, for which there appeared no strong reasons to engage you at present; that however, considering the state of affairs in England in particular, and of Europe in general, your Majesty will perhaps judge that the proposal which is made to you, ought to be admitted; first, because it is a thing extremely important for the good of the catholic religion, for the advantage of which principally this regiment would be levied and maintained; that in this your Majesty would sensibly oblige the King his master, and give him an effectual and solid mark of friendship, at a time when he might, on his side, give proofs to your Majesty of his attachment to your interests; that the proposal which is made, shews a determined resolution on the part of the King of England, to preserve a strict connection with your Majesty, and it will even render this connection public, and may produce effects which will not be useless to your Majesty's service; that it will be a mortifying displeasure to the Prince of Orange to see the troops recalled from Holland pass into your Majesty's service; that even the States General will from thence form new subjects of jealousy against the King of England, and perceive that he is far from entering into any connection or concert with them; that the House of Austria will from thence believe, that there is between your Majesty and the King of England a connection more strict and more established than there is, which cannot but be useful in the present conjuncture; that, in fine, this regiment being in your service, ought to be looked upon as a pledge of an entire confidence on the part of the King his master, and that it is a beginning to lead in the end to all that your Majesty may judge convenient for your interests.

I told

I told Lord Sunderland that I could not of myself give him any answer to a thing so new, and of so great consequence; that I could tell him, I believed it would be very difficult; and that he himself knew the reasons which might hinder your Majesty from taking foreign troops into your service at a time when you had disbanded so great a number of your own subjects. The King of England has not as yet spoken to me about it, but I don't doubt he will upon the first occasion, and that he will add other reasons to those which have been alleged by Lord Sunderland."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James is to rescind the act of settlement in Ireland.—In the Depot.

October 16, 1687.

"I KNOW from Lord Sunderland that Lord Tirconel was the person who pressed the King his master most to have a regiment of his subjects in France, and who has pointed out to him the consequences of it; this gave me an opportunity of entering upon the affairs of Ireland: Lord Sunderland told me that the King his master is resolved to reverse the act of settlement which was made of the Irish Catholics estates to the English Protestants upon the return of the late King of England; that this was as yet kept very secret; but it would soon be gone about, and that measures are taken to accomplish it. The reversing this settlement, which was made in favour of rebels and Cromwell's officers, is looked upon here as the most important of all things, and if it can be executed without opposition it will be an entire separation of Ireland from England for the future. This is the general sentiment of all the English."

In this letter Barillon further says, that King James had pressed upon him Lord Sunderland's project for taking into the French service the Roman Catholics who should leave the Dutch service, alleging that a foreign force of his own subjects ready at his call, would be the best means of establishing Popery.

Barillon in his letter to his court of the 6th of November 1687, mentions his having received orders from Louis to decline receiving into France the troops which should be recalled from Holland, but to offer to maintain them in England. On the 10th of November he writes, that he had communicated his orders to King James, and made a farther offer of what troops James should want from France, "To oppress his enemies, and make " himself be obeyed by his subjects."

James having accepted the offer of maintaining the troops from Holland on French pay in England, his gratitude to Louis is to be seen in the following dispatch.

Translation.

*Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth,
—James thanks Louis for keeping the 2000 Papists in
his pay in England.*

December 8, 1687.

"**T**HE King of England told me two days ago that Lord Sunderland had given him an account of what I had said to him on your Majesty's part, concerning the keeping up in this country two thousand men to be recalled from Holland; that he accepted it with a great deal of joy and gratitude; that he could not sufficiently tell me how much he esteemed this new mark of your Majesty's friendship; that he charged me to thank you for it on his part; that the keeping on foot some

troops of his subjects in France had appeared to him advantageous to his designs, but that what your Majesty does is likewise highly so, and puts him in a condition to pursue boldly the resolutions which he has taken in favour of the Catholic religion.

I told this Prince that your Majesty had not hesitated in granting what had been proposed; and that I had very precise orders to assure him, that when there should be occasion for your Majesty's forces, you would soon cause a much greater number to pass over than the body of his subjects would have been, which were to have been kept on foot in France. The King of England interrupted me, and said, I hold myself fully assured of the King your master's friendship; I shall endeavour to merit the continuation of it, and he shall know on every occasion how much I am attached to his person and interests.

I have since seen Lord Sunderland, who told me that your Majesty's offer of keeping up the two thousand men had produced in the King his master's mind a better effect than could have been expected from it; and that he had not omitted to make him observe with what readiness your Majesty had granted, what had only been insinuated as a thing that would be agreeable to him."

There are in King William's cabinet the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the recall of these troops from the Dutch service.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Recalls the six British regiments in the Dutch service.

Whitehall, Jan. 17th, 1688.

"I HAVE charged my envoy, Mons. d'Abbeville, who will give you this letter, to give you an account that I think it for my service to call for home the

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

six regiments of my subjects, which are under your command, in the States service; and have written to the States to the same purpose, and hope you will do your part to further their being embarked as soon as may be: What else I have to say upon this subject, I refer to my envoy."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Angry that the States have given leave to the officers but not to the soldiers.

Whitehall, Feb. 16, 1688.

"YESTERDAY I received yours of the 20th, and at the same time the States answer about the regiments of my subjects which are in their service; by which I was surprised to find they make a difficulty to let the common soldiers have the same liberty which they grant the officers, they being all equally my subjects. I had not reason to expect such an answer; what I have further to say to you upon that affair, I must refer to my envoy, whom I have also ordered to speak to the States upon that subject."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 2, 1688.

"I HAD not time by the last post to let you know I had received yours of the 2d, by which I found the reason why I could not then expect an answer to Mr. Abbeville's second memorial concerning my subjects in the six regiments. The next letters may I think bring me the answer of it, which I cannot doubt will be such a one as in reason I ought to expect, the common soldiers being as much my subjects as the officers. You will have seen, before this gets to you, the copy of the capitulation you made with the late Lord Ossory, which is very home to this point; so that sure, if it was not done before, there will be no further difficulty made
of

of letting such of the common men come over as are willing."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 13, 1688.

"SINCE I wrote last to you I have had two of yours; and having been a-hunting this day, and come home late, am so sleepy that I can only tell you that I did not expect to have had such answers from the States to the memorials lately given in by my envoy, especially where your influence is so great; and sure 'tis the first instance, and I believe will be the last, wherever subjects were refused the liberty to return back when demanded to serve their Prince."

Notwithstanding the refusal of the States (or rather of the Prince) to permit the British soldiers in their service to obey King James's recall, many of them made their escape and returned into England. Of these, and other popish soldiers, three regiments were formed instead of the two which had been a little before intended; for on the 26th July, 1688, Barillon writes to his court, that he had given Lord Godolphin 93,440 livres tournois, for the first two months pay of the three regiments, and that he was to continue the same payment at the end of every second month.

On the 6th of December, 1685, Louis the XIVth, in a letter to Barillon, ordered him to give a pension to Lord Sunderland of 20,000, or even 24,000 crowns, "As long as he shall contribute whatever depends upon him to maintain a good correspondence between me and the King his master, and to remove every engagement which can be contrary to my interests."

After James had thanked Louis the XIVth for complying in part with Lord Tyrconnel's project for recalling

calling the troops in the Dutch service, and putting them in the pay of France, the resolution for recalling them was suspended for some time; and about the same time Skelton, who was ambassador in France, suggested to the French court his suspicions that Lord Sunderland was secretly in the interests of the Prince of Orange. Barillon, upon this, got orders from Louis the XIVth to watch narrowly the motions of Lord Sunderland, and to report what he observed. Upon Barillon's attempting to sound him, he who had been the cause of getting the recall suspended, agreed to give his interest for having the suspension removed, provided a large gratification in money should be added to his pension, for doing so; thus, by a refinement of profligacy, deceiving Barillon into the belief that he was engaged in no interest except his own. The two following dispatches, the first of which contains an account of his asking a gratification, and the second of his getting one, though smaller than he expected, shew to what an extraordinary degree Barillon was duped by him.

Translation.

Dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Suspicions of Lord Sunderland.—Barillon duped by his flattery.—Sunderland asks a gratification besides his pension.—In the Depot.

January 5, 1688.

“ I HAVE exactly observed what your Majesty ordered me by your dispatch of the 18th of December last, not to shew too much eagerness for recalling the troops which are in Holland. I have also taken all the pains I could to discover who has been the occasion of suspending the resolution which appeared to be taken for recalling these troops; and I have omitted nothing to find out if
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the suspicion Mr. Skelton appears to have has any solid foundation. I do not build any thing upon Lord Sunderland's telling me, that the principal Catholics were of opinion that the recall ought not to be made till after the meeting of a parliament. I know from an intimate of Lord Powis, that Lord Arundel and he believe that recalling the troops which are in Holland at present would spoil matters: The question is, to know if this opinion is their own, or if Lord Sunderland has insinuated it to them; or if he has taken the part to retard an affair which at first he pressed very strongly, and seemed to have much at heart as well as the King his master; this is not easy to be penetrated; but what is sure is, that the delay of recalling these troops from Holland till after the session of parliament, renders the recall uncertain, and many things may happen to prevent it. Your Majesty will judge better of this, when I have given you an account of what has passed upon this affair within these few days.

Lord Sunderland having observed that I made no new instances for recalling the troops from Holland, spoke to me more openly than he ever yet did: He told me that the principal Catholics looked upon this recall of the troops as a rupture with the States General, and principally with the Prince of Orange; and that they were of opinion it could not be done till after a trial had been made of what might be obtained from a parliament; because if they could bring about the revocation of the Penal Laws and the Test, there would then be neither danger nor inconvenience in recalling such troops as they might have occasion for, in order to maintain what should be established in favour of the Catholics, and prevent the efforts of the factious, who would have no other resource left than that of exciting troubles and disorders in England; that if the troops were recalled at present,

present, it would redouble the suspicions already entertained in this country, of a formed design to break with the States General and the Prince of Orange, and consequently of a strict union with France: That many people well intentioned to the Royal authority, and the revocation of the Penal Laws, would be afraid of being too far engaged against Holland; and that it was a scheme concerted for the establishment of the catholic, and the ruin of the protestant religion, and that this would hinder them from favouring the designs of his Britannic Majesty in parliament: That it would be much more prudent to wait for what parliament will do, and not put an obstacle in the way of the resolutions which may be taken there.

Lord Sunderland made me understand that these reasons had made some impression upon the King his master's mind, and had prevented him from determining at present to recall the troops from Holland; that with regard to himself he did not esteem the reasons given solid, and that he believed he might prevail, and cause a resolution to be taken for recalling these troops from Holland immediately: That he had looked at all the consequences, and very well knew what might happen: That he would convince the King his master that it was the immoderate desire of the principal Catholics to obtain from parliament the revocation of the Penal Laws, which made them apprehend this recall of the troops to be ill-timed; that the offer your Majesty made, to keep two thousand men of these troops, shews a sincere desire to oblige the King his master; and that he regards it also as a certain proof of your good intentions for the establishing of his authority, and the advancement of the Catholic religion in England; that the manner in which your Majesty granted what had been asked of you, had produced all the effect which could be expected from it in the mind of

of the King of Great Britain; that your Majesty would at the same time in this follow your true interests, and strike an important blow for your service, by making so great a division between England and the States General; that the supporting two thousand men will cost your Majesty two hundred thousand crowns, or very little more, and that for this sum his master would enter into an engagement as formal and as strong as the deceased King of England did for much more considerable sums. That when this first step was taken, there would be followed on the part of the King his master, that conduct which your Majesty could desire; that the secret of keeping two thousand men in pay was known to him alone, and, in all appearance, would not be to any other, at least he believed it would be trusted to very few people; that it would be easy to make the King his master see that he engages himself entirely to your Majesty for two hundred thousand crowns per annum, and to insinuate that he ought to ask a more considerable sum, but that this is not the conduct he chuses to follow; that his design, on the contrary, is to make the King his master contented with what is offered, and enter into all the engagements which are the necessary consequences of it; that the troops in Holland might be recalled immediately, and he would expose himself to whatever may happen, if this recall of the troops should be anyways prejudicial to what may be expected from a parliament; that he knew very well he was looked upon as the author of this resolution, and that those who do not approve it, will easily find means to exculpate themselves to the Prince of Orange, and throw the whole upon him; that he was very willing to run the hazard, but at the same time he thought he should be assured of a full and entire protection from your Majesty; that upon this account he would freely tell me, that the danger to which he ex-

poses himself obliged him to take some precaution, and to desire your Majesty to take his services into consideration, and give him some new marks of your goodness by bestowing upon him a gratification, and continuing to him his ordinary pension ; that he would ask no part of this gratification till after the troops from Holland should arrive here ; that he was not afraid of owing this new obligation to you, as his design was to enter generally into whatever might be suitable to the interests of your Majesty ; that it was my part to represent the fact as it is, and to let him know your Majesty's intentions, in order that he might act accordingly.

I answered very little to this discourse, because I was much surpris'd with the proposal he made me : I did not undertake at once to write of it, I only told Lord Sunderland that he had said many things to me of great consequence, which merited more reflexion ; that I thought, I could only tell him, he ought not treat upon terms with your Majesty, and that it would be more suitable on his part to do what might be agreeable to your Majesty, and that afterwards he would have a right to ask and expect the favours he shall have deserved.

We had yesterday a second conversation, in which this minister repeated what he had said to me, and gave me to understand, that his design was not to avail himself of the present conjuncture to draw his own advantage from it ; that he continued in the engagements he had taken to be always in your Majesty's interests ; that I had seen in what manner he had conducted himself on all occasions which had offer'd ; that I knew what part he has in his master's confidence ; that if recalling the troops from Holland suited your Majesty, you would not be unwilling to recompense the person who renders you that service, since he thereby exposes himself much more than he had yet done ; that this ought to be represented in a manner

full of respect and submission on his part, but in affairs of importance it was necessary for him to explain himself clearly, and know what he had to depend upon, to the end he might act more surely and more boldly; that he hoped your Majesty would graciously bestow upon him such a sum as might put him in a condition to confront with less anxiety the revolutions which so often happen in England; he did not precisely explain himself upon the sum he asked, but I believe he expects something considerable, and he appears persuaded, that he shall render a great service to your Majesty in causing the troops to be recalled from Holland.

I did all I could to dissuade him from making this demand, and I represented to him, that being already engaged in your Majesty's interests, he ought to do every thing he thought might be agreeable to you, and not put your Majesty under the necessity of granting what he asked, or disgusting him by a refusal.

My remonstrance produced little effect, and he replied, that if your Majesty judged it advantageous to your service to have these troops recalled, you would not grudge him a sum which you believed well employed.

It remains for me to give your Majesty an account of what relates to the suspicion which Mr. Skelton thinks may fall upon Lord Sunderland of a secret connexion with the Prince of Orange; I have discovered nothing that can make it be believed; on the contrary, I see that this minister engages himself every day more in whatever can be most opposite to the interests of the Prince of Orange, and that he holds a conduct inconsistent with the design which it is pretended he has, to keep measures with him. He is the person who for a long time past has ardently pressed all the resolutions which have been taken in favour of the Catholics; he pursues with firmness whatever can lead to the abolishing the Penal Laws and the Test, which

is what the Prince of Orange fears the most. I know that he is resolved to declare himself a Catholic, when the King his master will have him. All this is difficult to reconcile with a secret engagement in the interests of the Prince of Orange. He appears to me to preserve very little reserve upon the important things he trusts me with, and hazards a great deal if some of them were known. I may, perhaps, be prejudiced in his favour, and that living in a court, the principal employment of which he fills, I am too easily led to believe what is most agreeable to me, and what most facilitates the success of the affairs with which I am charged; I shall not, however, fail in keeping my eyes open to discover, if possible, the truth. In the mean time, it seems to me, that Lord Sunderland gives himself up to me more and more every day, and puts himself, if I may say so, into your Majesty's hands. It was he who set on foot the affair to me of recalling the troops, and who has taken all possible pains to make it succeed: It is true the execution of this recall is retarded, and the proposal he makes of an extraordinary gratification, might make it believed that he has delayed the recall of the troops for his own private interest; at least he believes he may make use of it to bring about his ends. Your Majesty is to judge what is most suitable to your service; the reasons which the Marquis d'Abbeville makes use of, (of which I have sent your Majesty a copy) prove sufficiently that it is the King of England's interest to recall these troops from Holland, but these reasons have not been sufficient to cause the resolutions to be taken. If your Majesty thinks it may be for your service to enter into what is proposed by Lord Sunderland, I make no doubt but the troops will be recalled without loss of time, and that this minister will speedily give this proof of his credit; but if your Majesty shall leave the King of England to act according to what he shall judge most proper, and shall

shall refer yourself to what they may determine here with regard to the time of the recall, it will, I believe, be necessary to speak to Lord Sunderland in such a manner, as may soften the chagrin of having met with a refusal, and leave a door open to him for managing affairs in the manner he has done hitherto. I shall wait for what it may please your Majesty to order, that I may execute it punctually.

There will be public prayers ordered throughout England upon a day to be named, for a happy issue to the Queen of England's pregnancy; the prayers of the Catholics will be very sincere; the same is not expected in the protestant churches; but the bishops and ministers will not dare to excuse themselves from obeying the proclamation. I am, &c.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—

Lord Sunderland gets a present gratification from France besides his pension. — In the Depot.

January 26, 1688.

"IT was not without trouble that I brought the person in question (i. e. Lord Sunderland) to content himself with what your Majesty prescribed to me by your dispatch of the 17th January; at last he submitted himself to the assurances I gave him on your Majesty's part, that on other occasions more suitable and more advantageous to your interests, you would enter into the consideration of what he shall do for your service. I shewed him the importance of your Majesty's offer of an extraordinary gratification, without exacting any thing from him at present. I expressed no eagerness for recalling the troops from Holland, and left him entirely at liberty to hasten or
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to retard it; I even made use of the reasons contained in your Majesty's dispatch, to persuade him that you had no cause to press the recall, and that you refer to what the King of England shall judge should be done for his own interest. The conclusion was, that the person to whom I spoke accepted the extraordinary gratification, and has entered into a fresh engagement to be entirely in your Majesty's interests, and to seek with care for occasions to give proofs of it. I cannot, however, say that he is fully contented; he had conceived hopes of a more considerable reward, which he can hardly quit. He imagines he will not soon find such an opportunity of deserving well of your Majesty. I told him, that enough would offer in time to come, and that having much of the good will of the King his master, and a great credit with him, conjunctures would be hereafter found still more favourable and more important."

Barillon in his dispatches of 26th February, 1st, 4th, 11th and 22d March, 12th April, and 24th May, 1688, gives his court accounts, that he had asked King James to fit out twenty-five ships of war to support Denmark; that Sunderland long opposed this armament, alleging it would involve England in a quarrel with Holland; but that James, in consideration of 200,000 crowns to be paid him by France, having at last, with Sunderland's approbation, agreed to what was asked, Sunderland made a merit of his master's consent, to insinuate an expectation of another gratification to himself. "I ought not to conceal from your Majesty, that Lord Sunderland thinks he has deserved well of your Majesty in this, and that he may hope for marks of your goodness by an extraordinary gratification."

An account of Barillon's disbursements, dated 26th July, 1688, contains these two articles,

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“ Of which I have given for the first six months of this year, of the pension which your Majesty has granted to Lord Sunderland, the sum of 30,000 livres Tournois.

More to the same person for extraordinary gratification by your Majesty, the sum of 30,000 livres Tournois.”

Le Marquis d'Albeville, whom Lord Sunderland chose to send ambassador to Holland, at the time when the foundations of the Revolution were laying, was as profligate as himself.

Barillon in his letter of 2d September, 1686, reminds Louis the XIVth that he had, upon a former occasion, engaged Albeville in his interests, and asks a power to do so again. He adds these words, “ The Prince of Orange will do what he can to gain him.”

On the 5th September, 1686, Barillon writes, “ The ambassador of Holland (i. e. d'Avaux) believes that the Prince of Orange will be able, if he has much desire for it, to engage him in his interests.”

On the 23d September, 1686, he writes, that he is to pay 300 guineas to Albeville; he adds, “ He has taken with me all possible engagements.” And in his account of disbursements of the 10th of March, 1687, he states 300 guineas more to Albeville.

Lord Sunderland, as may be seen in the *Memoirs*, to which the present papers are an Appendix, got the command of the foreign correspondence, by procuring an order from the King to his ambassadors in foreign parts, not to write news of importance to the ordinary ministers. Among others, Albeville got this order, but he made a merit of it to Barillon, as if himself had procured it. Barillon, in the same letter of 23d September, writes

writes thus: "He (i. e. Albeville) has done a considerable service within these three days, having obtained of the King his master, that when he is in Holland he may write to Lord Middleton general things, and which may be made public; but that secret and important affairs should be addressed to Lord Sunderland: This is putting the affairs of Holland into his hands, and taking them out of Lord Middleton's, which may be useful on many occasions."

After this, Barillon in his dispatches frequently sends news to France, which he got from Albeville in Holland.

James was lulled into a fatal security by Sunderland and Albeville.

Louis the XIVth, in a letter to Barillon of the 7th June, 1688, ordered him to warn James to be on his guard against the States of Holland, and to make an offer of joining sixteen French ships to the English fleet.

Barillon answers, on the 10th of June, that James had accepted the offer, and that Lord Sunderland proposed the offer should be made public, to intimidate the Dutch.

Barillon writes, on the 14th June, that James had altered his mind, and thought the junction needless. "He does not appear persuaded that this junction can be necessary this year, or that there is an appearance of any enterprise on the part of the States General against him."

Notwithstanding this, Louis, in his letter to Barillon of 24th June, 1688, writes, that he is to keep his ships ready. The following passage in the letter, marks the vain-glorious character of that monarch: "And I believe the report of this alone will be sufficient to restrain the Prince of Orange, and prevent him from attempting any thing."

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The looseness of Albeville's dispatches was calculated to continue the deception of James and his court. Barillon, on the 2d August, 1688, writes thus of them: "It does not appear to me that either his Britannic Majesty or his principal ministers are much alarmed with the informations of the Marquis of Albeville, none of them being circumstantial enough."

Even the French court were little sedulous to let James know all his danger, being probably not unwilling to see a family and civil war among the only powers they had to dread, though little deeming it was to end so soon. Barillon got no accounts from his court of the extent of the Prince of Orange's preparations till the 12th of August, when Louis indeed gave him a full detail of them in a letter of that date, and charged him to beg James to prepare himself, "*Par terre et par mer*"—"By land and by sea."

On the 23d and 26th of August, 1688, Barillon writes his court that James is at length come to believe in the Prince of Orange's intentions, and has desired the French ships to be kept ready at Brest for his assistance. Yet on the 30th of August James had been brought back to his original ideas of security; for Barillon, of that date, writes: "He (*i. e.* James) told me that he had still difficulty to believe that the Prince of Orange could attempt making an invasion upon this country."

On the 2d of September Barillon writes that he had advised James to send to Ireland for the troops which were there; that James approved, but Sunderland made difficulties. He adds: "This minister appears persuaded that the Prince of Orange will not dare to attempt an invasion."

On the 6th of September Barillon writes thus of the incredulity of James and his court: "His Britannic

Majesty and his principal ministers do not believe that the Prince of Orange dare make a landing in England."

In this last letter Barillon informs Louis the XIVth, that James was willing the Irish troops should come; but that Sunderland objected they would alarm England; that they could not arrive in time enough if the Prince should make an attempt; that Ireland ought not to be left defenceless, because the Prince perhaps intended to land there; and that at any rate the consent of parliament ought to be waited for.

Louis the XIVth being astonished at the slumber of James, sent over Bon Repos, one of his courtiers, on purpose to rouse him to a sense of his danger, to press him to recall his troops from Ireland for his defence, and to offer an instant junction of the French to the English fleet. Barillon writes, on the 9th September, that Bon Repos was arrived, and that the King had accepted the offer of the French fleet, and directed Lord Sunderland to take measures for its junction with his own.

Yet, on the 13th of September, James lost again the sense of his danger; for Barillon, of that date, writes: "His Britannic Majesty and his most confidential ministers do not believe that the Prince of Orange has a design to attempt an invasion of England in the present conjuncture."

The following letter from Mons. Barillon to his court, so late as the 18th of September, shows to what a strange degree King James was fascinated by Lord Sunderland.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, September 18, 1688.—The King and Lord Sunderland do not believe the Prince of Orange will make an attempt upon England.—In the Depot.

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however far advanced the disputes on both sides may seem.

I had afterwards a long conversation with Lord Sunderland; his way of thinking is the same as the King his master's; they neither of them believe that the Prince of Orange has any design to make a descent in England, and they imagine if he does, no man who has any property will declare for him."

On the 18th and 23d of September, and the 18th of October, 1688, Barillon writes, that King James was neglecting to send for the troops from Ireland.

On 18th of October Barillon writes, that the troops were at last ordered, both from Ireland and Scotland: A period when it is plain that their march could only tend to leave these countries open, but not to join James in time enough to resist the first impressions of the Prince of Orange.

Barillon writes on the 25th of October, that James laid upon Sunderland's counsels the blame of the disavowal of d'Avaux's memorial, and the imprisonment of Skelton.

But the grossest of all Sunderland's artifices to deceive his master and Barillon, was his making a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, at a time when he knew the Prince of Orange was coming to England to remove all those who professed it, from all objects of ambition. Barillon gives the following account of this matter.

Translation.

*Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.
—Lord Sunderland's reasons for the public declaration of
his Popery.*

July 8, 1688.

“**L**ORD Sunderland has openly declared himself a Catholic; the King of England expressed a great joy at it, and has spoken of it in a council held of the principal Catholics, as a circumstance useful to his affairs, and from which advantages will be drawn for the success of his designs; although Lord Sunderland was already in the first employment, and had a greater share than any person in his master's confidence, what he has done gives still a new lustre to his favour, and augments in this country the opinion of his credit. This minister spoke to me as if he desired nothing more than to deserve your Majesty's protection, and to be assured of it. Upon this consideration he proposes to redouble his care and his application to do whatever he believes may be suitable to your Majesty's interests. Notwithstanding his hopes from the present state of affairs by the birth of a Prince of Wales, he well knows, that he risks much more for the future, by declaring himself a Catholic in a country, where the laws made against them are still in being; but he thought he owed the declaration of his religion, first to his conscience, he having been long persuaded that the only true religion was the Catholic; and besides this consideration, which ought to be the strongest, he was willing to shut the mouths of his enemies, and take from them all pretence of saying there could be any reserve in his conduct in favour of the Prince of Orange's party. What Lord Sunderland has done has been much spoken
of

of at court these two days, and 'tis thought his Britannic Majesty will make use of it to press other persons who are attached to him, to do the same thing. Lord Sunderland has made no new abjuration of heresy, having done it more than a year ago in the presence of Father Petre."

The following passage from Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Burnet's History, gives an instance of the affectation of zeal for James by which Lord Sunderland endeavoured to deceive others as well as that Prince. The period to which it relates, is the birth of the Prince of Wales.

"The old Earl of Bradford told me he dined in a great deal of company at the Earl of Sunderland's, who declared publicly, that they were now sure of their game; for it would be an easy matter to have a house of commons to their minds, and there was nothing else could resist them. Lord Bradford asked him if they were as sure of the house of lords, for he believed they would meet with more opposition there than they expected. Lord Sunderland turned to Lord Churchill, who sat next him, and in a very loud shrill voice, cried, O, silly! why your troop of guards shall be called to the house of lords."

Lord Sunderland concluded all his hypocrisy by pretending to ask refuge in France, at a time when he had resolved to take it in Holland.

Barillon writes on 7th of October, that Sunderland told him he would be ruined if the Prince of Orange succeeded; and that he had applied to him for a refuge in France. He writes on the 6th of November, that Sunderland had renewed his application, and that he, Barillon, had promised him a retreat in France.

But though those around King James were by means of Lord Sunderland's having the command of the foreign correspondence, kept in the dark as to the preparations of the Prince of Orange, there were not wanting men of honour to warn him of the mischiefs which his ideas of arbitrary power would bring upon him. Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes on Burnet, contain the following passage :

“ P. 595. Not long before his (Bishop Morley's) death (for he then kept his chamber) my father carried me with him to Farnham castle. I was not above twelve years old, but remember the bishop talked much of the duke, and concluded with desiring my father to tell him from him, that if ever he depended upon the doctrine of non-resistance he would find himself deceived, for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms, but was very sure they would in practice. My father told me he had frequently put King James in mind of Morley's last message to him, though to very little purpose: For all the answer was, that the bishop was a very good man, but grown old and timorous.”

While tempests were on all hands gathering round King James, he interested himself only in reconciling the King of France with the holy see, and in the fate of a war against the Infidels.

While the Prince of Orange was in the heart of his kingdom, Barillon writes to his court on the 22d of November, that James had sent for him with joy to inform him of a letter he had received from Lord Thomas Howard,

Howard, to let him know that the Pope had accepted his mediation in the affair of Franchises.

The following letters (except a few already printed concerning the recall of the Dutch troops) are the last which King James wrote to the Prince of Orange. They come down so low as the 17th of September, and to the end are full of the other folly of a war against the Infidels. It is observable however, of all these letters after the Prince's refusal to part with the British troops in the Dutch service, that the expression of his assurance of kindness at the end of the letters is changed. For whereas his former way of giving that assurance, was by saying he would be as kind to the Prince "as the Prince could desire," he now says, "as the Prince could expect." The letters are in King William's box.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Desires peace in Europe.

Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1688.

"I HAD not yours of the 12th till this day, and know not by what accident those letters which were written the post after were here two days sooner. I see you apprehend some things which have been transacted lately, may cause trouble in Europe. No body desires more the continuance of the peace than I do."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—He is against peace with the Turks.

Whitehall, April 3, 1688.

"THERE is very little news stirring here, all things being very quiet, and I hope will continue so, not only in this country, but on your side of the sea also, I mean in Christendom; for if there should be peace with

the Turks, I fear a war would break out in some part or other of Europe."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Likes the Turkish war.

Whitehall, May 15, 1688.

"I HAVE received yours of the 18th, by the which I find the Earl of Suffex was gone from the Hague, and had been with you on board the ships which were before Scheveling, which must needs have been a new and pleasing sight to one who lives so far from the sea. I am now setting out my summer guard, though there will be little for them to do, except the French who are gone, or agoing to Algiers, oblige those people to make peace with them, and then of course they must fall out with me, though they have already war with you. For my part, I continue still of the mind I was, and will endeavour to support the peace of Christendom, that the Emperor and Venetian may prosecute the war against the Turks. I intend to have a camp as usual at Hounslow the beginning of next month."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—An apology for not writing to him.

St. James's, May 19.

"I AM so ashamed to have been so long without answering your obliging letter, that I know not what to say for myself. I well believe you know me too well to suspect it want of kindness, and therefore I hope you will think it as it was, want of time, or at the worst a little laziness, which being confessed, I hope will be excused, for else I did long to return you a thousand thanks, as I do now for your kind wishes, which I hope you will continue, and believe that I am with all sincerity truly yours,
M. R."

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious about the Turkish war.

Whitehall, June 8, 1688.

“**I** HAVE had yours of the 11th, and am afraid that the death of the Elector of Cologne may in time cause some disturbance. I should be glad it did not, being still desirous there should be no war amongst Christians. And by letters of the 2d of May, from my ambassador at Constantinople, I am informed that the Turk can have no considerable army in the field this year, by reason of the great disorders they have had amongst themselves; so that the Imperialists have a fair opportunity of taking Belgrade this summer.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Prince of Wales born.—The Turkish and Algerine war.

St. James's, June 12, 1688.

“**T**HE Queen was, God be thanked, safely delivered of a sonne on Sunday morning a little before ten; she has been very well ever since, but the child was somewhat ill this last night of the wind and some gripes, but is now, blessed be God, very well again, and like to have no returns of it, and is a very strong boy. Last night I received yours of the 18th, and hope by this the campaign is well begun towards Belgrade. I expect every day to hear what the French fleet has done at Algiers, having heard they were just arrived before that place.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Sorry for the slowness of the Turkish war.

St. James's, July 13, 1688.

“**I** HAVE had yours of the 13th, and am sorry things go on so slowly in Hungary; the Duke of Lorraine's having been indisposed has been very advantageous to the Turk.

Turk. This next week I intend to go down to the buoy of the Nore, to see the small squadron of ships I have out, having ordered them to come thither for that purpose; and about the 24th of this month intend for Windsor, to stay there the remaining part of the summer. My troops are still encamped at Hounslow. When Mr. Zulisten goes back he will give you an account of them."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—A dry answer to the Prince's congratulation on the birth of the young Prince.

St. James's, July 22d, 1688.

"I HAVE had yours by M. Zulestein, and who has, as well as your letter, assured me of the part you take on the birth of my son; and would not let him return without writing to you by him, to assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can with reason expect."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

St. James's, July 24th, 1688.

"THE compliments Mr. Zulistein made me from you, and the letter he brought me are so obliging, that I know not which way to begin to give you thanks for it. I hope he will help me to assure you that I am very sensible of it, and that I esteem and desire nothing more than the continuance of your friendship, which I am sure shall always deserve one way mine, by being with all the sincerity imaginable truly yours.

M. R."

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Turkish war.

Windfor, August 31, 1688.

“ I HAVE received yours of the 30th from Loo, and by it find you had had the good news of the Elector of Bavaria’s having passed the Sane, and, I hope, the next letters from that army will bring the news of the taking of Belgrade. When the Emperor is once master of that place and Gradisca, he will have a very good frontier towards the Turks. This place of itself affords little news, for ’tis none now to tell you when the parliament is to meet, and till then we are to expect what news we have from your side of the water.”

King James’s last letter to the Prince of Orange.—The same subject.

Windfor, September 17, 1688.

“ I HAVE received yours of the 17th from the Hague, by which I find you were come back thither from a voyage you had made into Germany, to speak with some of the Princes there. I was very glad to hear, by an express which came to the Spanish ambassador here, of the taking of Belgrade, which, with the taking of Gradiska, will secure the Emperor’s conquests in those parts. I am sorry there is so much likelihood of war upon the Reyn; nobody wishing more the peace of Christendom than myself. I intend to go to-morrow to London, and the next day to Chatham, to see the condition of the new batteries I have made in the Medway, and my ships which are there.”

James’s disavowal of d’Avaux’s memorial at the Hague, and the imprisonment of Skelton, who had suggested it, provoked

provoked the pride of Louis, and he left James to his fate. The following letter from Louis to Barillon both shews his pique, and gives full evidence that there was no formal treaty between Louis and James.

Translation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to Mr. Barillon.—Is piqued by James's disavowing d'Avaux's memorial.—No formal treaty between James and Louis.—In the Depot.

September 30, 1688.

“MR. Barillon, Your letter of the 23d of this month informs me of the precautions the King of England takes to guard himself against an invasion by the Prince of Orange in England; and I am very glad to learn that he neglects nothing to make that Prince repent of so unjust an enterprize; but I am, on that account, the more surpris'd at all the steps the said King takes at London and the Hague, to shew that he had no part in the declaration which the Sieur d'Avaux made by my orders to the States General. He ought not to doubt that if any thing is capable to divert the Prince of Orange from passing into England, it is the interest which I shew I take in all that regards the said King; and though there is no treaty signed between me and him, nevertheless the ties of agreement since his coming to the throne, have formed a more strict one than if stipulated by a formal treaty; and moreover, whatever means I may have to repel, with my forces alone, all my enemies, I shall always be very glad that the Princes who have any affection for my crown, should shew hostility to my enemies without my asking it of them; in short, in whatever light the declarations which the King of England has made to the States General are examined, there will always be found
a weak-

a weakness capable of encouraging the Prince of Orange in his first designs.

I approve also of the manner in which you have talked to the King of England and the Earl of Sunderland concerning the recall of Mr. Skelton; this envoy rather deserves a recompence, than a disgrace so public as that of being obliged to return immediately to England to give an account of his actions."

King James to his dying hour complained of his enemies for alleging that there was a formal treaty between him and France, and assumed merit from his innocence of the charge: A strong instance how the mind of man may impose upon itself. Many papers in this Appendix shew that the connexion was stricter between him and Louis than any formal treaty could create; and the words of Louis in this last letter, prove that Louis thought so.

Amongst Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's History there is the following one:

Page 783. "The Duke of Chandos told me, as a thing he knew to be true, that the King of France wrote to King James to let him know that he had certain intelligence that the design was upon England, and that he would immediately besiege Mastrick, which would hinder the States from parting with any of their force for such an expedition, but the secret must be kept inviolable from any of the ministers. Soon after the States ordered six thousand men to be sent to Mastrick, upon which the King of France desired to know of King James if he had revealed it to any body, for he himself had to none but Louvois, and if he had betrayed him should treat him accordingly. King James's answer was, that he never told it to any body but Lord Sunderland, who he was very sure was too much in his interest to have discovered it. Upon which the King of France said, he saw plainly that

King

King James was a man cut out for destruction, and there was no possibility of helping him."

N^o VII.

The Princess Anne's letters to her sister immediately before the revolution.

The Earl of Hardwicke was so obliging as to give me the following curious notes from the Princess Anne's letters to her sister, which were taken from the originals by the late Doctor Birch.

Doctor Birch's notes from the Princess Anne's letters to her sister.

Cockpit, Dec. 29, 1687.

"**S**ORRY people have taken such pains to give so ill a character of Lady Churchill I believe there is nobody in the world has better notions of religion than she has. It is true, she is not so strict as some are, nor does not keep such a bustle with religion; which I confess, I think, is never the worse, for one sees so many saints meer devils, that if one be a good Christian, the less shew one makes, it is the better in my opinion. Then, as for moral principles, it is impossible to have better; and without that, all the lifting up of hands and eyes, and going often to church, will prove but a very lame devotion. One thing more I must say for her, which is, that she has a true sense of the doctrine of our church, and abhors all the principles of the church of Rome; so that as to this particular, I assure you she will never change. The same thing, I will venture, now I am on this subject, to say for her Lord; for though he is a very faithful servant to

the King, and that the King is very kind to him, and, I believe, he will always obey the King in all things that are consistent with religion; yet rather than change that, I dare say, he will lose all his places, and all that he has.

K. once talks to her upon religion, upon occasion of her talking to some lady, or looking another way, when a priest said grace at the King's table.

Report of Lord Treasurer's being to be put out of his place. The King tells her that this morning.

Lord Treasurer told me the other day, the King commanded him to hear a dispute; and that he heard one between two of their priests, and Dr. Jane and Dr. Patrick of our side; and by it, that he was the more confirmed of the truth of our religion."

January 10, 1687-8.

"**A**FRAID to send a letter by Mr. d'Albeville, he having always had a very odd character.—He has always been counted a spy, that you may have a care of him.

Lord Tyrconnel is going to-morrow.

Very sorry that the King encourages people of that religion so much.

Lord Clarendon, as to his own affairs, has been a very ill manager, which I cannot help being sorry for on my mother's account; for as for himself, he has not behaved himself so well to me as I think he had reason, nor no more indeed has any of that family, which one may think a little extraordinary."

Cockpit, Jan. 31, 1687-8.

"**I** AM sorry the King encourages the Papists so much; and I think it is very much to be feared, that the desire the King has to take off the Test, and all other laws against them, is only a pretence to bring in Popery.

I am

I am sorry the King relies so much upon Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin; for every body knows, that once they were as great enemies as any he had, and their own hearts can only tell what converts they are. As for the first of them, by all outward appearance, he must be a great knave (if I may use that expression of a minister), for he goes on fiercely for the interests of the Papists, and yet goes to no church, and has made no public declaration of his religion, whatever it is. I fear he has not much of any. All we can do in these matters, is to pray to God to open the King's eyes, and to order all things for the best, that this poor nation may not be overthrown by Popery.

The Cockpit, March 13, 1687-8.

“THIS letter going by sure hands, I will now venture to write my mind very freely to you.

Denied the satisfaction of seeing her sister this spring, though the King gave her leave when she first asked it. Imputes this to Lord Sunderland, for the King trusts him with every thing; and he going on so fiercely for the interest of the Papists, is afraid you should be told a true character of him.

You may remember, I have once before ventured to tell you, that I thought Lord Sunderland a very ill man, and I am more confirmed every day in that opinion. Every body knows how often this man turned backwards and forwards in the late King's time; and now, to complete all his virtues, he is working with all his might to bring in Popery. He is perpetually with the priests, and stirs up the King to do things faster than I believe he would of himself. Things are come to that pass now, that, if they go on so much longer, I believe, in a little while, no Protestant will be able to live here.

The King has never said a word to me about religion since the time I told you of; but I expect every minute,

and am resolved to undergo any thing rather than change my religion. Nay, if it should come to such extremities, I will chuse to live on alms rather than change.

This worthy Lord does not go publicly to mafs, but hears it privately at a priest's chamber, and never lets any body be there, but a servant of his.

His lady too, is as extraordinary in her kind; for she is a flattering, dissembling, false woman; but she has so fawning and endearing a way, that she will deceive any body at first, and it is not possible to find out all her ways in a little time. She cares not at what rate she lives, but never pays any body. She will cheat, though it be for a little. Then she has had her gallants, though may be not so many as some ladies here; and with all these good qualities, she is a constant church woman; so that to outward appearance one would take her for a saint, and to hear her talk, you would think she was a very good Protestant; but she is as much one as the other; for it is certain that her Lord does nothing without her.

... One thing there is, which I forgot to tell you, about this noble Lord, which is, that it is thought, if every thing does not go as he would have it, that he will pick a quarrel with the court, and so retire, and by that means it is possible he will think he makes his court to you.

There is one thing about yourself, which I cannot help giving my opinion in, which is, that if the King should desire you and the Prince of Orange to come over to make him a visit, I think it would be better (if you can make any handsome excuse) not to do it; for though I dare swear the King could have no thought against either of you, yet since people can say one thing, and do another, one cannot help being afraid; if either of you should come, I should be very glad to see you; but

but really if you or the Prince should come, I should be frightened out of my wits for fear any harm should happen to either of you."

The Cockpit, March 14, 1687-8.

"**I** CANNOT help thinking Mansell's Wife's (i. e. the Queen) great belly is a little suspicious. It is true indeed, she is very big, but she looks better than ever she did, which is not usual; for people when they are so far gone, for the most part, look very ill: Besides, 'tis very odd, that the Bath, that all the best Doctors thought would do her a great deal of harm, should have had so very good effect so soon, as that she should prove with child from the first minute she and Mansell met, after her coming from thence. Her being so positive it will be a son, and the principles of that religion being such, that they will stick at nothing, be it never so wicked, if it will promote their interest, give some cause to fear there may be foul play intended. I will do all I can to find it out, if it be so; and if I should make any discovery, you shall be sure to have an account of it."

The Cockpit, March 20, 1687-8.

"**I** HOPE you will instruct Bentley, what you would have your friends to do, if any alteration should come, as it is to be feared there will, especially if Mansell has a son, which I conclude he will, there being so much reason to believe it is a false belly. For, methinks, if it were not, there having been so many stories and jests made about it. she should, to convince the world, make either me, or some of my friends feel her belly; but quite contrary, whenever one talks of her being with child, she looks as if she were afraid one should touch her. And whenever I have happened to be in the

room, as she has been undressing, she has always gone in the next room, to put on her smock. These things give me so much just cause of suspicion, that I believe, when she is brought to bed, no body will be convinced 'tis her child, except it prove a daughter. For my part, I declare I shall not, except I see the child and she parted.

I can't end my letter without telling you, that Rogers's wife (i. e. Lady Sunderland) plays the hypocrite more than ever; for she goes to St. Martin's, morning and afternoon (because there are not people enough to see her at Whitehall chapel), and is half an hour before other people come, and half an hour after every body is gone, at her private devotions. She runs from church to church after the famousst preachers, and keeps such a clatter with her devotions, that it really turns one's stomach. Sure there never was a couple so well matched, as she and her good husband; for as she is throughout in all her actions the greatest jade that ever was, so is he the subtillest workingest villain, that is on the face of the earth."

The Cockpit, March 26, 1688.

King angry with the Princess of Orange for having taken Lord Coote into her family,

Richmond, April 11, 1688.

Account of her manner of life.

The Cockpit, April 29, 1688.

Firmness to her religion.

"**I** ABHOR the principles of the Church of Rome as much as it is possible for any to do, and I as much value the doctrine of the Church of England. And certainly there is the greatest reason in the world to do so, for the doctrine of the Church of Rome is wicked
and

and dangerous, and directly contrary to the Scriptures; and their ceremonies, most of them, plain downright idolatry."

Richmond, May 9, 1688.

"UPON the King's proceedings against the University of Cambridge. By this, one may easily guess, what one is to hope for henceforward—since the priests have so much power with the King as to make him do things so directly against the laws of the land, and indeed contrary to his own promises. It is a melancholy prospect that all we of the Church of England have. All the sectaries may now do what they please. Every one has the free exercise of their religion, on purpose, no doubt, to ruin us, which, I think, to all impartial judges is very plain. For my part, I expect every minute to be spoke to about my religion, and wonder very much I have heard nothing of it yet.

.... This last honour the King has conferred on Lord Sunderland, will, I doubt not, make him drive on our destruction with more haste. His Lady too, is now in all appearance like to be a favourite with the Queen; for now, that Lady Rochester is dead, there is nobody to put the Queen in mind often how ill a woman Lady Sunderland is. Though the Queen of late had no good opinion of Lady Rochester; yet the truth she told of Lady Sunderland, did certainly keep her from growing great with the Queen while she lived. But now she is dead, Lady Sunderland, what with her fawning insinuating way, and the court her Lord makes to the Queen, is to be feared will grow in great favour; and then no doubt she will play the devil, for she has no religion, though she pretends to a great deal; and so she is great, she cares not who she ruins. And to say truth, she does not want wit nor cunning, and that, with her

ill nature together, may make her capable of doing a great deal of mischief. The Queen, you must know, is of a very proud haughty humour; and though she pretends to hate all form and ceremony, yet one sees, that those that make their court that way, are very well thought of. She declares always, that she loves sincerity, and hates flattery; but when the grossest flattery in the world is said to her face, she seems extremely well pleased with it. It really is enough to turn one's stomach, to hear what things are said to her of that kind, and to see how mightily she is satisfied with it. All these ways Lady Sunderland has in perfection, to make her court to her. She is now much oftener with the Queen than she used to be.

It is a sad, and a very uneasy thing to be forced to live civilly, and as it were freely, with a woman that one knows hates one, and does all she can to undo every body; which she certainly does.

One thing I must say of the Queen, which is, that she is the most hated in the world of all sorts of people; for every body believes, that she presses the King to be more violent than he would be of himself; which is not unlikely; for she is a very great bigot in her way; and one may see by her, that she hates all Protestants. All Ladies of quality say, she is so proud, that they don't care to come oftener than they must needs, just out of mere duty. And indeed, she has not so great a court as she used to have. She pretends to have a great deal of kindness for me; but I doubt it is not real; for I never see proofs of it, but rather the contrary.

Apprehends that the King will speak to her about religion, when the Prince goes to Denmark at the end of the month."

The Cockpit, June 18, 1688.

“MY dear sister can’t imagine the concern and vexation I have been in, that I should be so unfortunate to be out of town when the Queen was brought to bed, for I shall never now be satisfied, whether the child be true or false. It may be it is our brother, but God only knows, for she never took care to satisfy the world, or give people any demonstration of it. It is wonderful, if she had really been with child, that nobody was suffered to feel it stir, but Madam Mazarin, and Lady Sunderland, who are people that nobody will give credit to. If out of her pride, she would not have let me touch her, methinks it would have been very natural for her sometimes, when she has been undressing, to have let Mrs. Roberts, as it were by chance have seen her belly; but instead of endeavouring to give one any satisfaction, she has always been very shy both to her and me. The great bustle that was made about her lying in at Windsor, and then resolving all of a sudden to go to St. James’s, which is much the properest place to act such a cheat in; and Mr. Turone’s lying in the bed-chamber that night she fell in labour, and none of the family besides being removed from Whitehall, are things, that give one great cause to be suspicious. But that, which to me seems the plainest thing in the world, is, her being brought to-bed two days after she heard of my coming to town, and saying that the child was come at the full time, when every body knows, by her own reckoning, that she should have gone a month longer. After all this, ’tis possible it may be her child; but where one believes it, a thousand do not. For my part, except they do give very plain demonstrations, which is almost impossible now, I shall ever be of the number of unbelievers. I don’t find that people are at all disheartened,

but

but seem all of a mind, which is a very comfortable thing at such a time as this.

All the time the bishops were in the Tower, every body flocked to see them; and there was great joy at their coming out. As many Lords as could without falling into a premunire, intended to petition the King, but their not having done it yet, makes me fear they will stay till 'tis too late. One cannot help having a thousand fears and melancholy thoughts; but whatever changes may happen, you shall ever find me firm to my religion, and faithfully yours."

Windfor, June 22, 1688.

"**H**AVING heard, that in Scotland every body has taken new commissions for their places, without taking the Test, and thinking it of very great consequence, because all that has been done there, has been but a fore-runner of what in a short time has been done here, I thought myself obliged to send one a purpose to give you notice of it, as soon as it was possible, that you may, if you can, do something to put a stop to it, before it is gone too far; for I am wholly of your mind, that in taking away the Test, and Penal Laws, they take away our religion; and if that be done, farewell all happiness; for when once the Papists have every thing in their hands, all we poor Protestants have but dismal times to hope for. Though we agree in these matters, yet I can't help fearing, that you are not of my opinion in other things, because you never answered me to any thing that I have said of Rogers, nor of Mansell's wife."

The Cockpit, July 9, 1688.

"**T**HE Prince of Wales has been ill these three or four days; and if he has been so bad as some people say, I believe it will not be long before he is an angel in heaven.

You

You will not have many more letters from me, from hence, this summer; for I intend next week, as it please God, to go to Tunbridge, which the doctors tell me is the best thing I can do to hinder me from miscarrying, when I am with child again. I confess I am very glad I am advised to go thither, for it is very uneasy to me to be with people, that every moment of one's life one must be dissembling with, and put on a face of joy, when one's heart has more cause to ache; and the Papists are all so very insolent, that it is insupportable living with them. There is no remedy but patience; but you may easily imagine, as the world goes now, to a sincere mind, the court must be very disagreeable.

This going with the packet-boat, I shall not write to you, by to-morrow's post.

Questions sent by the Princess of Orange, to the Princess Anne of Denmark.

July 21, 1688.

“ 1. **W**HETHER the Queen desired at any time any of the ladies, in particular the Princess of Denmark, to feel her belly, since she thought herself quick; and who those ladies are; and when that was, whether in the beginning of her being quick, or of late?

2. Whether the milk that, as is said, was in the Queen's breasts, was seen by many, or conducted in a mystery?

3. Whether the astringents, that the Queen is said to have taken, were taken by her openly, or if a mystery was made of that?

4. Whether the treating of the Queen's breasts for drawing back the milk, and the giving her clean linen, has been managed openly, or mysteriously?

5. At what hour did the Queen's labour begin?

6. At what hour was the notice of it sent to the King? Whether the King did not lie at St. James's, or with the Queen that night; or if he was gone back to Whitehall?

7. Whether upon sending to the King, the thing was let fly over St. James's and Whitehall, or if the notice was sent secretly to the King?

8. Whether did the King send about for the privy counsellors; or if he took those that were by accident at Whitehall?

9. At what time came the King with the council into the Queen's chamber?

10. Whether was there a screen at the foot of the bed, between it and the rest of the room, or not?

11. Whether did any women, besides the confidents, see the Queen's face when she was in labour? And whether she had the looks of a woman in labour? Who was in the room, both men and women? What time they came in, and how near they stood?

12. How long was the King talking to the privy counsellors, after the child was carried into the next room, before he went to look upon it? and in this, as well as in the other questions, relating to the point of time, a critical answer, as near to a minute as it is possible, is desired.

13. What women, of one sort or other, were present? And if no woman was called in to hold the Queen?

14. Were no ladies sent for? or who were sent for? and at what time the message was sent to the Queen Dowager? Also at what time she came?

15. Whether in any former labour the Queen was delivered so mysteriously, so suddenly, and so few being called for?

16. If many observed the child's limbs being slender at first, and their appearing all of a sudden to be round and full?

17. Is

17. Is the Queen fond of it?

18. How Mrs. Dawson, Mrs. Bromley stands with the Queen? Which of her bed-chamber women are most in favour?

Ad. 12. Who took the child, when it was born?

Ad. 13. If the King did not use to be nearer the bed, and hold the Queen in former labours?

Ad. 16. If every body is permitted to see the child at all hours, dressed and undressed?

Ad. 16. Who is about it, rockers and dry nurse?

Ad. 3. What doctors were consulted about the Queen, before, and since her being at the Bath? Whether Doctor Waldgrave alone; or others with him, knew the particulars of her condition, all along?"

The Princess Anne of Denmark's answer.

The Cockpit, July 24, 1688.

"I Received yesterday, yours of the 19th, by which I find you are not satisfied with the account I have given you in my last letter; but I hope you will forgive my being no more particular, when you consider, that not being upon the place, all I could know, must be from others; and having then been but a few days in town, I had not time to enquire so narrowly into things, as I have since; but before I say any more, I can't help telling you, I am very sorry you should think I would be negligent in letting you know things of any consequence. For though I am generally lazy; and it is true indeed, when I write by the post, for the most part, I make those letters very short, not daring to tell you any news by it; and being very ill at invention, yet I hope you will forgive my being lazy, when I write such letters, since I have never missed any opportunity of giving you all the intelligence I am able; and pray be not so unjust to believe I can think the doing any thing you can desire, any trouble; for cer-

tainly I would do a great deal more for you, if it lay in my power, than the answering your questions, which I shall do now as exactly as you desire.

1. I never heard any body say they felt the child stir; but I am told Lady Sunderland and Madam Mazarin say they felt it at the beginning. Mrs. Dawson tells me she has seen it stir, but never felt it.

2. I never saw any milk; but Mrs. Dawson says she has seen it upon her smock, and that it began to run at the same time it used to do of her other children.

3. For what they call restraining draughts, I saw her drink two of them; and I don't doubt but she drank them frequently and publicly before her going to the Bath. Dr. Waldgrave was very earnest with Sir Charles Scarborough, to be for her going thither; but he was so fierce against it, that there was another consultation of doctors called, Sir Charles Scarborough, Dr. Waldgrave, Wetherby, Brady, and Brown. After that, there was only Sir Charles Scarborough and Dr. Waldgrave (and for the first I believe he knew but little), excepting once when she was to be let blood, and when she was to have gone to Windsor. Then some of the others were called in to give their opinions.

4. All I can say in this article is, that once in discourse, Mrs. Bromley told Mrs. Roberts, one day Rogers's daughter came into the room, when Mrs. Mansell was putting off her clouts, and she was very angry at it, because she did not care to be seen when she was shifting.

5. She fell in labour about eight o'clock.

6. She sent for the King at that time, who had been up a quarter of an hour, having lain with her that night, and was then dressing.

7. As soon as the King came, he sent for the Queen Dowager, and all the council. After that, it was known all over St. James's.

8. Most

8. Most of the other men, I suppose, that were there, was at the King's rising.

9. They came into the room presently after the Queen Dowager came, which is about half an hour before she was brought to bed.

10. There was no screen. She was brought to bed in the bed she lay in all night, and in the great bed-chamber, as she was of her last child.

11. The feet curtains of the bed were drawn, and the two sides were open. When she was in great pain, the King called in haste for my Lord Chancellor, who came up to the bed-side to shew he was there; upon which the rest of the privy counsellors did the same thing. Then the Queen desired the King to hide her face with his head and periwig, which he did, for she said she could not be brought to bed and have so many men look on her; for all the council stood close at the bed's feet, and Lord Chancellor upon the step.

12. As soon as the child was born, the midwife cut the navel-string, because the after-burthen did not follow quickly; and then she gave it to Mrs. Labadie, who, as she was going by the bed-side, cross the step, to carry it into the little bed-chamber, the King stopt her, and said to the privy counsellors, that they were witnesses there was a child born, and bid them follow it into the next room and see what it was, which they all did; for till after they came out again, it was not declared what it was; but the midwife had only given a sign that it was a son, which is what had been done before.

13. When the Queen Dowager first came into the room she went up to the bed-side, but after that stood all the while by the clock. There was in the room Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, the two Chamberlains, Lord Middleton, Lord Cran , Lord Huntingdon, Lord Powis, Lord Dover, Lord Peterborough,

rough, Lord Melfort, Lord Dartmouth, Sir John Ernley, Lord Preston, Sir Nicholas Butler, Duke of Beaufort, Lord Berkeley, Lord Murray, Lord Castlemain; these were of the council: And for others, there was Lord Feversham, Lord Arran, Sir St. Fox, and Mr. Griffin, besides pages of the back-stairs and priests. The women that were there were, Lady Peterborough, Lady Bellasis, Lady Arran, Lady Tyrconnel, Lady Roscommon, Lady S. Buckley, Lady Fingal, Madam Mazarin, Madam Bouillon, Lady Powis, Lady Strickland, Lady C , Mrs. Cran, two of the Queen Dowager's Portugueses, Mrs. Bromley, Mrs. Dawson, Mrs. Waldgrave, Lady Wentworth, and Mrs. Feraine. All these stood as near as they could. Lady Bellasis gave the midwife the receiver, and Mrs. Dawson stood behind a Dutch chair that the midwife sat upon to do her work. All the time the child was parted, I do not hear of any body that held the Queen except the King, and he was upon the bed by her all the while.

14. I don't hear that any ladies were sent for but the Queen's own, and they were called presently after the Queen Dowager. She came a quarter after nine: Where she stood, and at what time she was sent for, I have already told you.

15. Her labour never used to be so long.

16. I never heard what you say of the child's limbs. As for seeing it drest or undrest, they avoid it as much as they can. By all I have seen and heard, sometimes they refuse almost every body to see it; that is, when they say it is not well; and methinks there is always a mystery in it, for one does not know whether it be really sick, and they fear one should know it, or whether it is well, and they would have one think it is sick, as the other children used to be. In short, it is not very clear any thing they do; and for the servants, from the highest to the lowest, they are all papists.

17. The

17. The Queen forbid Lady Powis to bring the child to her before any company ; but that, they say, she used to do to her other children. I dined there the other day, when it was said it had been very ill of a looseness, and it really looked so ; yet when she came from prayers she went to dinner without seeing it, and after that played at comet, and did not go to it till she was put out of the pool.

18. I believe none of the bed-chamber women have any credit with the Queen but Mrs. Tureine ; but they say Mrs. Bromley has an interest with the King.

I am going to Tunbridge ; but if I was to stay here I could not watch the child, for it is to be at Richmond. Lady Churchill does not go with me at first, and as long as she stays here I am sure she will do all in her power to give you and I an account if any thing happens that is worth knowing.

I have done my endeavour to inform myself of every thing ; for I have spoke with Mrs. Dawson, and asked her all the questions I could think of : For not being in the room when the Queen was brought to bed, one must enquire of somebody that was there ; and I thought she could tell me as much as any body, and would be less likely to speak of it ; and I took all the care I could, when I spoke to her, to do it in such a manner that I might know every thing ; and in case she should betray me, that the King and Queen might not be angry with me.

It was she that told me what I have said in the 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15th Articles. She told me, besides, that when she came to the Queen, she found Mrs. Tureine and the midwife with her. All that she says seems very clear ; but one does not know what to think ; for methinks it is wonderful if it is no cheat, that they never took no pains to convince me of it.

I hope I have answered your letter as fully as you desire ; if there be any thing else you would know, pray tell me

me by the first safe hand, and you shall always find me very diligent in obeying you, and shewing by my actions how real and sincere my kindness is.

One thing I had forgot, which is, that the last time she was brought to bed, the reason of her being delivered in the great bed was because she was caught; and this time, Mrs. Dawson says, though the pallet was up, the Queen would not go into it because the quilts were not aired."

Windfor, August 18, 1688.

"I AM in as great expectation of being tormented as ever, for I can never believe that Mansel would go on so violently, if he had not some hopes that in time he may gain either you or me."

In the Dec-
pot:

The Princess Anne, in the above letter, of 13 March, 1688, mentions a visit she intended to have paid her sister in the spring of that year. Barillon writes to Louis the XIVth, on the 13th March, 1688, that Prince George had applied to King James for leave to go to Denmark, and that the Princess should in the mean time pay a visit to her sister in Holland, and that the King had at first consented, but afterwards changed his mind. Barillon writes, on the 17th March, 1688, that the Princess Anne had herself applied to the King, but had got a refusal. There can, I imagine, remain little doubt what the intention of this interview was.

To defend the Revolution upon a pretended suppositious birth, is to affront it; it stands upon a much nobler foundation, the rights of human nature. The suppositious birth was a mere lie of party, and was intended to have

have been made use of six years before, if King James's Queen had then been brought to bed of a son.

In *The Observer*, No. 194, printed Wednesday, August 23d, 1682, is the following remarkable passage :

“ If it had pleased God to give his Royal Highness the blessing of a *son*, as it proved a *daughter*, you were prepared to make a *Perkin* of him. To what end did you take so much pains else, by your instruments and intelligences, to hammer it into the people's heads that the Dutcheß of York was *not* with child ? And so, in case of a son, to represent him as an *impostor* ; whereas you have now taken off the mask in confessing the daughter.—I would have the impression of this cheat sink so far into the heads and hearts of all honest men, as never to be defaced, or forgotten. For we must expect, that the same flame shall, at any time hereafter, *be trumpt up again upon the like occasion.*”

Compare also Lord Clarendon's Diary as follows :

Diary of the Earl of Clarendon, 1688, p. 20.

“ Jan. 15th. In the morning, I went to St. James's church ; this is the thanksgiving day appointed for the Queen's being with child ; there were not above two or three in the church who brought the form of prayer with them. It is strange to see how the Queen's great belly is every where ridiculed, as if scarce any body believed it to be true. Good God help us !”

B O O K VI.

THE Prince of Orange takes his Farewel of the States. — **PART I.**
Rendezvous at Helvoetsluys. — *The Prince sails.* — **BOOK VI.**
Driven back. — *Sails a second Time.* — *Movements of* 1688.
his Fleet. — *He lands at Torbay.* — *First Events.* —
James joins his Army. — *His Intention to send off the*
Prince of Wales disappointed. — *Different Councils*
given to James in the Camp. — *Insurrections.* — *Flight*
of Prince George and the Princess. — *James retires.* —
Consternation in London. — *James assembles the Peers.*
— Counsels which they give him. — *Treaty.* — *False*
Manifesto. — *Continuance of Insurrections.* — *Misery*
of James. — *Different Counsels given to him in his*
Court. — *Queen's Flight with the Prince of Wales.* —
Terrors of the King, and his Flight. — *State of the City.*
— Universal Panic of an Irish Massacre. — *Council*
of Peers. — *James seized at Feversham.* — *Returns*
to London. — *Behaviour of the Prince upon this News.*
— The Dutch enter London in the Night. — *The*
Prince's Message to the King. — *James goes to Rochester.*
— The Prince arrives in London. — *James flies to*
France.

THE wind having at last changed to the north-east, the Prince of Orange, on the 16th of October, took his leave of the States at the Hague. He thanked them for all their kindneses to him in his youth; he

A a 2
The Prince takes his farewell of the States. said,

PART I. said, "He took God to witness, that, since he had
 BOOK VI. "been intrusted with the affairs of their commonwealth,
 1688. "he had never entertained a wish that was contrary to
 "its interest. If he had erred, he erred as a man, his
 "heart was not to blame. In his present enterprise he
 "trusted to Providence. But if any thing fatal should
 "happen to him, to them he recommended his memory,
 "their common country, and the Princess his wife,
 "who loved that country as she did her own: His last
 "thoughts should be upon them and upon her." The
 States feeling, upon the near approach of danger, that
 anxiety to which they had been strangers, when it was
 more distant, interrupted him* with their tears. But,
 notwithstanding the tender sensations in his own breast,
 and which he discovered in theirs, he pronounced his
 harangue, and took his farewell, with a countenance
 manly and determined. His expressions melted the
 hearts of the tender, his manner commanded those of the
 brave.

Rendezvous
 at Helvoet.

When he arrived at Helvoetsluys, he found his fleet
 and army assembled. The fleet consisted of sixty-five
 ships of war, of seventy vessels of burden to attend them,
 and of five hundred transports. His army was com-
 posed of near four thousand cavalry, and about eleven
 thousand infantry, of the best troops of the republic,
 with three hundred French officers, protestant refugees,
 who had solicited to be employed, because they thought
 that, in fighting against King James, they fought for
 their God. Of these troops, the most formidable were
 the six British regiments in the service of the Dutch,
 who had mostly been driven from their country in the late
 and the present reigns; and who, therefore, like other
 exiles, were impatient to exert themselves in the eyes of
 foreigners, take vengeance on their enemies, and recover

* Burnet. D'Avaux. October 26.

their

their own possessions and honours. Twenty thousand spare arms were prepared for the insurgents in England. The whole artillery of every town in Holland was collected for the service of this fleet and army*, and only twelve ships of war were left for the defence of the second maritime power of the world. Vast multitudes were assembled at Helvoet; some to admire the magnificence of the shew, and others to take farewell of their relations and friends. All were agitated with hopes and fears: Hopes of success, fears of seeing each other no more. As the time of embarking approached, anxieties arose even in the bravest, when they reflected that they were going to attack the bravest of nations. But, as soon as the embarkation was completed, the view of their own numbers and strength revived the spirits even of the most timid. The fleet was divided into three squadrons, on board of which were troops of different nations. The English and Scotch commanded by General M'Kay †, a Scotchman of a noble family, sailed under the red flag, the Prince's guards and the Brandenburgers, by Count Solms ‡, a German of still higher birth, under the white, and the Dutch, with the French protestant refugees, by the Count of Nassau, of the Prince's family, under the blue flag. In compliment to England, Herbert led the van: Evertzen a Dutch admiral brought up the rear: The Prince of Orange, with another Dutch admiral, placed himself in the centre, his ship carrying the flag of England, and his own arms, of which the motto was, "Je maintiendray,"—"I will maintain;" and which, by a Dutch conceit, he by an addition turned into this motto: "I will maintain the protestant religion and the liberties of England."

PART I.
BOOK VI.

1688.

* D'Avaux.

† Life of King William, vol. 3. p. 351.

‡ Busching's Geography.

PART I.
BOOK VI.

1688.
The Prince
sails.

The fleet weighed anchor on the 19th of October during the silence of the night; so that no sounds were to be heard, except those which arose from the unfurling of sails, the hauling of ropes, and the voices of the commanders*. After the Prince had seen the departure of all the ships, he joined them himself, and took his station. A few hours after the fleet was at sea, the wind turned to the south, and carried it along the coast of Holland, some leagues to the north: So that it continued half a day† in the full sight of Schevelin, a village close adjoining to the Hague, to which all the inhabitants of that town repaired to behold the fleet; some flattered with the grandeur of their republic, others‡ reflecting with anxiety, that their frontier on one side was in the hands of the ancient tyrants, and, on the other, exposed to an army of foreign mercenaries, all the artillery of their towns carried off, only a few ships of war left in their harbours, and the whole strength of the republic sent, during the rigours of winter, to depend upon the hazards of winds and seas, and the fortune of war.

Is driven
back by a
storm.

During the night the wind changed to the north-west; and a dreadful tempest succeeded, the horror of which was augmented by the darkness of the season, the number of the ships which endangered each other, and the terrors of the landmen, who having been unaccustomed to the sea, either sunk into despair, or perplexed the seamen with unavailing help: The number of horses, with the quantity of artillery and baggage, put hastily on board, and ill fastened, added equally to the distraction and the danger. In two hours|| the whole fleet was dispersed; so that in the morning scarcely two ships could

* D'Avaux, Nov. 1.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

|| Rapin, vol. 2. p. 766.

be seen together. After having been tossed all next day and night in the ocean, some of the ships took refuge in different ports along the coast of Holland and Zealand; and others cast anchor wherever they could hope for a temporary relief, in places where there were no ports to protect them. The Prince re-entered Helvoet* with only four ships of war, and sixty transports, but with a mind calm and unruffled, which reflected more splendour upon him than all the pomp which two days before had attended him. The moment he got into the road, he dispatched coast-pilots† to cruize through the seas between Holland, France, and England, in order to get intelligence of his scattered ships, and with directions for all they should find to rejoin him at Helvoet. In a few days the rest of the fleet began to re-assemble from their different retreats, many of them with their rudders broken, and their sails and tackle flying loose in the air; some with their guns and baggage thrown over-board; and a few towed in by other vessels. Nine hundred horses had been cast over-board to save the rest: But no ships were missing except one transport, which was driven upon the coast of England, and was taken there: This vessel, by accident, had far more than her own complement of men, having no less than four companies of soldiers on board. Though seamen are apt to observe presages at all times, and most men in time of danger; yet no body fancied more in this storm than the accident of weather. The States deriving fresh vigour from difficulty, directed all losses to be repaired, and the armament to be reinforced. The Prince, by his activity and spirit, inflamed the young, and animated the old, remaining continually on board, and passing from ship to ship to encourage his fellow-sufferers. In seven days the

PART I.
BOOK VI.
1688.

* D'Avaux, Nov. 1.

† Life of King William, p. 351.

PART I. fleet was again assembled, and, in four more, was re-
BOOK VI. paired and ready to sail.

1688.
 Reports in
 England.

As reports are always increased by distance, it was believed in England, that the whole armament was lost. James received the news at dinner; and, with an appearance of great devotion, remarked, "It is not to be wondered at, for the host has been exposed these several days *!" In order to complete the deception, and to make James lay aside his preparations, the Dutch gazettes, by private orders from the States, aggravated the damage, and gave reason to believe, that the expedition was deferred until spring: Care was taken that these papers should be sent into England. The great number of men found in the transport which had been taken, heightened the importance of the Prince's army in the eyes of the English, when it was considered, that this transport was only one of five hundred. Upon the report, that the expedition was laid aside, those who had been irresolute before now prepared to submit to the fate of the nation; and the resolute, who had declared more openly their sentiments, expected in silent anguish their own ruin.

The Prince
 sails a se-
 cond time.

Movements
 of his fleet.

The Prince, however, set sail a second time, on the 1st of November, with a fair wind, and a brisk gale, amidst † the sounds of trumpets and artillery, the shouts and acclamations of the soldiers and mariners, and the prayers of his countrymen. He steered for above twelve hours to the northward, in order to create a belief, in the advice-packets which watched his fleet, that his intentions were to land in the north of England. This stratagem succeeded. James directed ‡ the march of part of his forces to the north. But, as soon as these packets disappeared to carry home intelligence of the course, and night came on, the Prince made a signal to tack about, and to

* Mission.

† Life of King William, vol. 3. p. 351.

‡ Ibid p. 353.

put before the wind to the westward. On the second morning after he sailed, his fleet was discovered stretching towards the Channel, with all the sail it could spread : His ships formed a line of twenty miles in extent : While the rear was in a manner close at hand, the van could scarcely be discerned. During seven hours, this huge body continued passing in the view of both shores, which were covered with innumerable spectators, who stood gazing, with admiration mixed with terror, upon a spectacle at once so pleasing and dreadful ; and who loaded it with prayers or imprecations; according to the different religions, or interests, or passions, of the nations before whom it passed. When the fleet approached the coast of England, the Prince changed his ship, and sailed at the head of all, to be the foremost in danger, displaying his own standard, in order to make himself more conspicuous, and to animate others by his example. About mid-day, he lay by in the straits of Calais and Dover, until the whole fleet should come up ; partly, in order to make his armament appear the greater in so narrow a sea; and, by that means, to conquer first the imagination of those whom he was invading ; and partly to call a council of war, upon intelligence which had been received, that there was danger from the English fleet which lay behind him at the Gunfleet. Here it was resolved to change the disposition of the fleet ; and that the Prince with the transports, and three ships of war to guard him, should sail down the Channel in the van, while all the other ships of war should remain in the rear, to engage the English, in case they came out. The whole fleet being accordingly drawn up into one body, of about sixteen ships deep, which stretched from coast to coast, and within a league of each, the evolution was made in the middle of the straits *. While it was performing, the trumpets and other warlike

* Rapin. Life of K. William, vol. 3. p 352.

PART I.
BOOK V.

1688.

instruments again founded, the vessels saluted, and all the honours and pomp of war were exhibited in the fight of the people, who were assembled on the coasts of both kingdoms. But the same strong east wind, which carried the Prince triumphantly through the Channel, prevented the English fleet from coming out: For the ships rode at their station*, with their yards and topmasts down, unable to purchase their anchors, and saw part of the Dutch fleet pass within their sight: Circumstances fortunate for the fleet of England. For Lord Dartmouth had been loaded with riches and honours by his master: He had been gained by little attentions, which are often more engaging than those of greater importance: An instance of this happened at Coventry †: For the citizens having presented the King with a gold cup, whilst he passed through their city, he handed it to Dartmouth with this compliment: “There is an acknowledgment from the city of Coventry, for the sufferings of your father in the cause of my father in this town.” He was the more attached too to the King, because he had often warned him against the evil courses of his reign; and fidelity is the common attendant of an honest freedom. And therefore, though Dartmouth knew that some of his captains had engaged not to fight against the Prince of Orange, and that others were irresolute what to do, he had resolved ‡ to render the contrast conspicuous between their behaviour and his own.

The Prince
lands.

The fleet was intended for Torbay, on account of the capaciousness of the landing place. But the Prince’s pilot misreckoned, and not only overshoot it, but also the port of Dartmouth. The next port was Plymouth: But the Prince was not certain of reception there; and, if he tacked to make Torbay, there was reason to be appre-

* Burchet, p. 18.

† Collins, v. 4. p. 311.

‡ Burchet.

henfive,

hensive, left Lord Dartmouth, who by the change of the wind was now under sail, might, in the interval, come up with the fleet of England. While the minds of those on board were in this cruel state of perplexity, the wind changed in a moment to the south, carried the Prince in four hours into Torbay, and forced Lord Dartmouth back to his station. Even the firmest minds, in great situations, are apt to regard omens: The Prince was anxious to land on the 4th of November, because it was the day of his birth, and of his marriage. But the English rejoiced, that the landing could not be made effectual until the day after, which being the anniversary of the gunpowder treason, they imagined, would prove a lucky day to a protestant cause. As soon as the landing was made good, the whole fleet and army joined in expressing their gratitude by prayers to that Providence which they believed had interposed in their favour *.

The Prince marched his army from Torbay to Exeter, and, for the greater expedition, sent his baggage round by sea to meet him there. But the terrors of Jeffreys's executions still remaining in the western parts of England, few joined him in his march. Sir William Courtney, the friend of the unfortunate Lord Russel, in whose house the Prince lodged, because he counted upon him, gave no countenance to his enterprise, either in his own name, or by his tenants. The city of Exeter scrupled to receive the Prince. Lamplugh, the bishop, fled to the King, for which he was instantly named to the vacant archbishopric of York. His clergy refused to attend a sermon preached in the cathedral by Burnet. Even the dissenters refused the keys of their meeting-house to Ferguson. But Ferguson said, laughing, " I will take the kingdom of

He stops at
Exeter.
Unpromising appearances at first.

* Carstairs was the person who suggested this to the Prince. It had a wonderful effect upon the army. This was the foundation of the future favour of Carstairs.

PART I.
BOOK VI.

1688.

“ heaven by violence,” and calling for a hammer, broke open the door with his own hand. The Prince’s friends looked upon each other, waiting to see who should act first, covering their own fears under complaints of those of others, and trembling at the consciousness of the engagements they had taken. But the Prince, who knew that many of his English friends had high honours and great fortunes to risk, which might damp their spirits at the time he most needed their assistance, who besides was all his life suspicious of the political levity of the English, and who knew he could not conquer eight millions of people with 15,000, and that his only argument for coming to England was the invitation of the people themselves, stopped at Exeter, and fixed his residence there, to wait the effects which the promises of his friends should produce, and privately resolved to return, if they produced none. He continued there near a week, with no better prospect than when he arrived. It is reported, that once, peevish with disappointment, he betrayed in public an intention to depart immediately, and leave the people of England and their King to settle their differences at their leisure among themselves *.

Numbers at
length join
him.

Great passions and great perils often throw a kind of stupor over the minds of men, which robs them of their wonted powers: But, when a few recover themselves, all recover with them. Major Burrington, who had been in the army, was the first man of fashion who joined the Prince: The gentlemen of Devonshire and Somersetshire followed. With these came Sir Edward Seymour, one of the most eminent of the tories. His arrival gave the Prince an opportunity of perceiving the high spirit of the English: Having said to Seymour, “ I believe, Sir Edward, you are of the Duke of Somerset’s family.” “ No, Sir,” answered he, “ The Duke is of mine.”

Lord Abingdon, another of the same party, Mr. Ruffel, PART I.
BOOK VI. brother to the late Lord, Mr. Wharton, and many others 1688. of rank from different parts of England, hastened to wait upon the Prince. When these things were reported, his other friends animated each other; complained of the old government; flattered themselves with hopes in innovations; and every man mistaking his neighbour's courage for his own, all rushed to the camp, or to the stations which had been assigned them, with a violence proportioned to their late fears. Some of those, who had at first scrupled to sign the association with the Earl of Devonshire, now offering to sign it, the Earl told them, "There was *now* no need of their aid*." In order to prevent those who professed their adherence from retracting or temporising, or, as Sir Edward Seymour expressed it, "to keep the party from becoming a rope of sand," Sir Edward drew up an association for defence of the Prince, and the cause he was engaged in, which was signed by all, even by many who refused afterwards to take the oaths to the Prince of Orange, when seated upon the throne †. Yet, amidst the satisfaction which the Prince received from this new appearance of things, there appeared the remains of his former spleen. He observed with emphasis to the first considerable body of gentry who waited upon him, "That he had come upon *their* invitation, and expected them *sooner*."

But more material signs of disaffection to James soon appeared: The loyalty of the army began to give way: Lord Colchester, once friend to the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, was the first of James's officers who deserted: He brought off a few of his men. Lord Cornbury aimed a more important blow: He pretended an order from the King, to beat up the enemies quarters near Dorchester,

*Defection in
the King's
army.*

* Collins's Peerage, vol. 1. p. 174.
Gazette, Nov. 12.

† Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 5.

1688.

and carried with him his own regiment of dragoons, and two of horse, towards the Prince, whom he advertised of his approach. The Prince made a body of his forces advance twenty miles, either to receive or intercept them, according as they should join or resist. A march of thirty-eight miles in one day, made by Lord Cornbury, with unusual haste, gave suspicion to some of his officers: They insisted for an explanation: He had not resolution either to avow or to deny the intention. Most of the officers and soldiers returned, but some who favoured the cause of the Prince, or loved their leader, or were fond of innovations, proceeded, and made the junction good. Soon after the Prince received, by Mr. Byng, a message from many captains of the fleet, that they were ready to obey his orders.

Petition of
Peers for a
parliament.

In the mean time, James was involved in a perplexity at London, as much by the anxiety of his friends, as by the designs of his enemies: A petition was presented to him by the two archbishops, and two bishops, in the name of nineteen peers and prelates, to call a free parliament. This petition was signed indiscriminately by some of both parties; by the one side in hopes he would comply, and save his crown at the expence of some of its prerogatives; and by the other, in the belief, that he either would not, or that he could not, without distracting his party, losing the personal attendance of his friends, and manifesting his fear. Lord Halifax and Lord Nottingham had suggested the measure: Yet, when they saw the names of Lord Rochester, and of the Bishop of Rochester, at the petition, they refused to join in any measure with any person who had sate in the ecclesiastical commission. A refusal which seemed to shew attention to the King, to whom the calling of a parliament was not agreeable; yet discovered their intention, if the opportunity offered, to raise themselves on the ruins of those who had concurred, or
even

even seemed to concur, with the late measures. James gave the following answer to the petition : “ My Lords, “ what you ask of me, I most passionately desire ; and I “ promise you, *upon the faith of a King*, that I will have “ a parliament, and such an one as you ask for, as soon “ as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this realm : “ For how is it possible that a parliament can be free in “ all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an “ enemy is in this kingdom, and can make a return of “ near an hundred voices ?” The petition and answer were both published, and afforded a new subject of contention to the minds of men, already sufficiently heated. For, while some called the formality of a petition ungenerous to a Prince in distress, others imputed the refusal to a sense of guilt, and fear of parliaments, or to obstinacy. All remarked, that there must be some misunderstanding between the King and his own friends, when part of them had joined in asking what he had refused.

James discovered still one other sign of spirit : He joined his army, consisting of 24,000 men, while it lay at Salisbury, resolved to die a King of England, if he could not live one. “ The fight of their Sovereign,” he said, “ and the common ties of honour, would prevent his “ troops from betraying the cause of their Prince and “ their General, when he sought protection from them, “ and shared dangers with them.” But in order to add the impulses of shame to those of duty and honour, before he set out, he called together the officers who were in London, and made the following speech to them : “ According to the Lords petition, I have engaged my royal “ word to call a free parliament, as soon as ever the Prince “ of Orange has quitted the kingdom ; and I am resolved “ to do all that lies in my power to quiet the minds of my “ people, by securing their religion, laws, and liberties. “ If you desire any thing more, I am ready to grant it.

James joins
his army.
His speech
to his officers.

“ But

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“ But if, after all this, any of you is not satisfied, let him
 “ declare himself. I am willing to grant passes to all
 “ such as have a mind to go over to the Prince of
 “ Orange, and spare them the shame of deserting their
 “ lawful Sovereign.” Among these officers were Lord
 Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, and the Colonels Kirk
 and Trelany. They felt a momentary compunction, but
 it was only momentary.

His inten-
 tion to send
 off the
 Prince of
 Wales dis-
 appointed.

But, while James was preparing to expose his own
 life, he resolved to take care of that of his infant son.
 The night before he left London, he sent him privately
 to Portsmouth, together with a letter written with his
 own hand, to Lord Dartmouth, with orders to carry
 the Prince into France. Dartmouth, in the beginning
 of his answer, conjured his master with submission and
 affection to think no more of a step so fatal to his family;
 and in the end of it told him, with an honest boldness,
 that he would oppose the order if given to another.
 James upon this directed the young Prince to be brought
 back to a palace in which it was doomed he should never
 reign*.

Different
 counsels
 given to
 James in the
 camp.

The same evening that James joined his army at Salis-
 bury, a number of the officers waited on Lord Fever-
 sham the General, and told him, that they could not in
 conscience fight against the Prince of Orange; and
 Lord Feversham informed him, that, though the private
 men were steady, the officers in general could not be
 depended upon. It is reported, that he proposed to
 James to dismiss all the suspected officers, and to place,
 for a few days, the most trusty serjeants in their stead.
 Lord Dunbarton, a son of the house of Douglas, asked
 leave to attack the Prince with his Scottish royal regi-
 ment, consisting at that time of 5000 men, of which

* Vide Appendix to this Book.

3000 were with the regiment; assuring the King, that, though he could not hope to defeat the Prince, he would give him a shock which the King might take advantage of: But James refused, saying, "He would not throw away the lives of so many brave men, upon an action which could not be decisive." Lord Dundee, with a generous confidence, advised him either to fight the Prince, or go to him in person, and demand his business in England*. But, of all those who pressed James to a battle, the foremost was Lord Churchill, in order to wipe off the suspicions which had been suggested against him. The Duke of Grafton gave the same advice. Next day these two persons, with the Colonels Kirk and Trelany, and several other officers of rank, went over to the Prince. Lord Churchill left a letter for James, respectful, yet alarming: For, though he promised warmly to preserve his duty to the King; yet, by saying that he could not expect so great favours, "under any other government," as he had received from him, he seemed to express a consciousness, that another government than the King's was in prospect.

James continued at Salisbury six days: In this interval, he was distracted almost every hour with the news of misfortunes following one upon another: He heard, that in the west Lord Delamere had raised the people of Cheshire: That, in the middle of England, Lord Devonshire, in Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, had acted the same part: That in the north, Lord Danby, who had obtained a commission to raise forces for his service, had seized York, and gained over its garrison: That in the south, Lord Bath had brought the garrison of Plymouth to declare for the Prince; and that the whole gentry of Dorsetshire had espoused the same side:

Infirrec-
tions.

* Granger's Biog. Hist. v. 2. p. 507.

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And that Captain Churchill, brother to Lord Churchill, had joined the Dutch fleet with his ship. He was the first sea-officer who deserted. The declaration of Nottinghamshire contained the following severe words to a royal ear: "That they did indeed own it to be rebellion, to resist a King governing by law, but not to resist a tyrant who made his will the law." Hurt in friendship, and in the relations of nature, shocked with ingratitude, knowing not whom * to trust, suspecting now one and now another, and most with good reason, and dreading to be delivered up by those troops whom he had assembled to defend him, James retreated with part of his army to London, upon hearing that the Prince was advancing to Sherborne against him. He ordered the rest of the army to follow him. Most of the private men shed tears when they heard of his retreat.

Defection in
the royal
family.

The night before he retired, Prince George of Denmark, and the young Duke of Ormond, whom James had a short time before honoured with the garter, supped with him; he, with a desponding mind, they with anxious thoughts from the defection they meditated. Next morning, he was waked with the information that they had gone over, together with Lord Drumlanrig, in the night, to the Prince of Orange. Prince George left a letter to James, expressed in terms which, in excusing himself, threw blame on the unhappy person to whom it was directed. Prince George had been accustomed, when he heard of the defection of any of those who had been much obliged to the King, to say, "Est il possible?" The only remark which James made upon the Prince's flight was, "Is Est il possible gone too?" But, when he learned upon entering his capital, that the Princess Anne had the evening before, under pretence of avoiding his displeasure, fled from the palace with the Bishop of

* Duke of Buckingham's works.

London, Lord Dorset, and Lady Churchill, he burst into tears, and in a transport of nature cried out, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!" The Princess went not to Dorsetshire to her husband, who was with the Prince of Orange, but to Northampton; either to avoid the appearance of joining the Prince of Orange against her father, or to give occasion for an insurrection, under the pretence of protection to her person. Instantly a small army of volunteers formed around her as a guard, which was commanded by the Bishop of London, who in his youth had been a cornet of dragoons, and who now rode before her with a drawn sword in his hand, and pistols on his saddle.

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A few days before James retired from Salisbury, there had been an engagement between two parties of the different armies at Wincanton, in which the King's party had been defeated. When the report of this defeat, exaggerated, as is common on such occasions, far above the reality, and that the King's army was retreating towards the capital, and the Prince's army pursuing it, arrived in London, many of the great * hastened to burn their papers; some lest they should be punished for their connections with the Prince of Orange, and others lest they should be called to account for having had a share in the King's measures. All the people of condition who were in town flocked to the palace to learn news, filling † every gallery and antichamber. Consternation appeared in the countenances of all, increased by mutual mistrust, lest they should seem to rejoice or grieve too much in the news which were related. In vain did those about court endeavour to conceal their uneasiness under a false cheerfulness, and false

Consternation in London.

* Clarendon's Diary, Nov. 26. Lord Castlemain's Trial. Duke of Buckingham, vol. 2. p. 76.

† Clarendon, Nov. 25.

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intelligence: These very endeavours, by betraying their affectation, added to that consternation which they were intended to remove. The succession of companies made what was bad worse: For pressing forward, and not getting admittance, they read events in the contagious looks of each other, and then retired to scatter the objects of their own imagination through the capital. The citizens were instantly in an uproar; believing, that the fate of the kingdom was to be decided between the two armies within the walls of the city. The women from their sex, the artizans from their habits, in a city long unacquainted with arms, trembled at the thoughts of danger. The rest, accustomed to the idleness and delicacies of the metropolis, and by talking of war to form the more frightful ideas of it, were equally timid with the women and artizans. Even the friends of the Prince of Orange, though conscious of his virtue, felt uneasiness when they reflected, that there was an army of foreigners in the heart of the kingdom, and that it depended upon it and upon him how to treat them. Such a consternation, struck by the approach of 15,000 men, to a city inhabited by above half a million, pointed out to the observing, how weak wealth is against arms, and that the people who cannot defend themselves with their own hands, must for ever fall an easy prey to invasion from without, or to tyranny within.

James as-
sembles
peers.
Counsell
which they
give him.

As soon as James entered the city, he summoned an assembly of the peers to ask their advice, and to make an apology to them for not having called a parliament. In passing to this council, he met with a shock perhaps as severe as any he had felt: Meeting the father of the unfortunate Lord Ruffel, the old Earl of Bedford, who had offered £100,000 for his son's life, but which the King, when Duke of York, had prevailed with his brother to refuse; he said to the Earl, " My Lord, you
" are

“are a good man; you have much interest with the
 “peers; you can do me service with them to-day.”
 “I once had a son,” answered the Earl, sighing, “who
 “could have served your Majesty upon this occasion.”
 James was struck motionless. Lord Clarendon gave his
 thoughts on the state of affairs, in a manner indecent to
 his sovereign, ungenerous to one in distress, inhuman to
 a relation. The nobles were affected with the sight of
 Majesty in its fall, discovered their disapprobation of
 Clarendon in their looks and murmurs, and treated
 James with the respect due to one who was still their
 Sovereign. The advices they gave him were, “To
 “issue a pardon to the Prince’s adherents, to remove
 “papists from offices, to assemble a parliament, and to
 “send a deputation for a treaty to the Prince.” Ad-
 vices from this assembly to one in the situation of James,
 were equal to commands: He readily complied. There
 is a meanness in granting to force, what has been refused
 to wisdom and justice, which robs the unhappy even of
 pity. The spectators thought, at this conference, that
 the King was altered, and that the powers of his mind
 had forsaken him: They asked, “Where were the looks,
 “and where the spirit, which had caused three king-
 “doms to tremble?” They perceived not that the
 change was not in the King, but in themselves.

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As soon as it was known that James was to call a
 parliament, and to enter into a treaty with the Prince,
 the city resumed her ordinary tranquillity; and multi-
 tudes of all parties flocked* from London to pay their
 compliments to the Prince, as in time of a profound
 peace. The fleet, which had hitherto been detained by cross
 winds, and the dissension among its commanders, hear-
 ing this state of things, fixed its station at Spithead,

Tranquilli-
 ty restored.

* Clarendon’s Diary.

where

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Prince's be-
haviour in
his march.

where all the admirals and captains wrote a joint letter of thanks to the King for calling a parliament; an event which put an end to all the anxieties of the Prince of Orange and of the Dutch.

The Lords Nottingham, Halifax, and Godolphin, were the deputies appointed by James to wait upon the Prince of Orange. The Prince, by framing delays in the passports, and then appointing the deputies to stop on the road till he came up, avoided for ten days a personal interview with them; and, in the mean time, increased his party, refreshed and strengthened his army, and advanced forward with a slow pace, that the minds of men might be awed even by the prolongation of his march, and the pain of expectation. He received the visits of the great with every attention they could desire. As he marched along, he bowed to the populace with his hat off, and called to them, "That he came to rescue their religion and liberty." Yet all the while he kept men in a state of uncertainty as to his designs: For, while many of an inferior rank, who were believed to know his sentiments, gave out, that he intended to assume the crown, he himself, and Bentinck his favourite, repeatedly averred, that he had no such intention *.

Treaty.

The deputies, having got admittance at last at Hungerford, delivered the Prince a letter of credentials from the King, and proposed that terms should be adjusted for the freedom of elections and of the sitting of parliament, and that both armies should be removed to a proper distance from London. James's letter, being merely official, had been written in French, the language commonly used to foreign Princes, and not with his own hand. The Prince, on reading it, said with an air of concern †, "It was the first letter he had ever received from the King in a foreign language, or written by the hand of ano-

* Clarendon's Diary.

† Ibid.

“ther :” A reference to the tender relation in which he stood to James, which he made either from sensibility, or from a design to preserve the ambiguity of his intentions. The Prince desired the commissioners to put their proposals into writing. After which, in order to mark that the measures to be taken, were those of the English themselves, and not his own, he desired all the English nobility and gentry who were with him to assemble and prepare an answer to the proposals of the commissioners : And then, under pretence of other business, but in reality to avoid the imputation of directing their resolutions, he retired to the country. In the answer framed by this assembly, one article insisted upon was, that the writs for assembling a new parliament should be superseded ; an article carried through by many of those who had come over with the Prince, or were obliged to attend him ; and who, foreseeing that they could not attend their elections, and consequently that they could not expect to be returned in the present state of things, dreaded the loss of their own importance in the assembling of a new parliament. When the answer was carried to the Prince, he struck out this article, and desired the assembly to reconsider it. They returned the answer with the article replaced : The Prince struck it out a second time. They desired him to hear the point debated before him : He consented ; but adhered to his first opinion. A conduct, wise, generous, firm. Yet one precautionous expression dropped from him. In the heat of the altercation, he said to Sir Harry Capel, “By your favour, Sir Harry, we may drive away the King ; but, perhaps, we may not know so easily how to come by a parliament.” He made another alteration upon the answer. It had been made to run in his name ; but he ordered it to run in the names of those who had framed it, together with his own *.

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This answer contained the following, among other demands : “ That papists should be disarmed, and removed
 “ from employments, the tower of London and Tilbury
 “ fort put into the hands of the city, and Portsmouth
 “ into those of persons chosen by both Princes ; that no
 “ more foreign forces should be brought into the king-
 “ dom ; that a revenue should be assigned for the mainte-
 “ nance of the Prince’s army ; and that, if the King
 “ chose to reside at London during the sitting of parlia-
 “ ment, the Prince might reside there likewise, attended
 “ with an equal number of guards.” James perceived, that these conditions stripped him of the friends whom he most trusted, prevented him from receiving foreign aid, disabled him from future defence, by taking from him the possession of almost the only forts he had left, made provision for the continuance of a foreign force in his kingdom, and introduced an equal to cope with him in his capital : They therefore gave him but a melancholy view of his present and future condition. Yet, when he first heard of them, he affected to be satisfied ; and the consciousness that this affectation was become necessary, added to his uneasiness.

False mani-
 festo pub-
 lished in the
 Prince’s ar-
 my.

At this time an accident passed that could have happened only in times of great confusion, and which filled him with fears. There was one Speke in the Prince’s army, a man of a bustling, daring spirit, irritated by revenge for the death of a brother, who had been condemned by Jeffreys for Monmouth’s rebellion. This man counterfeited and published a declaration * in the Prince’s name : The declaration ordered military execution against all papists in arms or in office, or who should *assist* or *obey* them ; which exposed to the sword a great part of James’s servants : And it was full of the grossest indecencies to the Kings of France and of England. Such a declaration,

* Speke’s account,

published in the middle of a treaty, persuaded James, who was ignorant of the imposture, that the Prince was resolved to observe ceremony no longer, filled all around him with terror for their own lives, and made his enemies imitate, in their speeches and actions, that boldness which their credulity imputed to the Prince. Amongst the foremost to fly was Lord Sunderland, who had been lately removed from his offices, pretending danger from the Prince, but in reality in fear of it from the King. He took refuge in Holland.

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At the same time, James received repeated intelligence, from all quarters of the kingdom, of the defections of those whom he had accounted his friends, and of the successes of those whom he knew to be his enemies. He heard that the Duke of Norfolk, exercising the power of Lord Lieutenant which had been committed to him for the royal service, had summoned the freeholders of Norfolk to the town of Norwich, in favour of the Prince; that Lord Shrewsbury had taken possession of the city of Bristol; and that the gentlemen of Herefordshire had declared for the Prince. He heard that, even in the seat of loyalty at Oxford, the Duke of Ormond had read the Prince's declaration to the university, which had received it with universal applause, and offered its plate in a solemn deputation to the Prince: That, in the north, where his interest had hitherto kept some ground, all was lost; for that Hull, one of the keys of the kingdom, was seized by Copely its deputy-governor, and Newcastle and Berwick had submitted: That defection had seized even Scotland, where he thought himself absolute; for that the covenanters and presbyterians, countenanced by the Marquis of Athole, president of the council, the second person of the kingdom in office, and who wished to be the first, and instigated by Sir John Dalrymple and Lord Tarbet, two of the privy council, had frightened Lord Chancellor Perth from Edinburgh, and afterwards committed him to

Continu-
ance of in-
surrections
in the coun-
ties.

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Different
advices he
gets in the
court.

custody*, had destroyed the popish chapel in the royal palace, and the seminary of the Jesuits; and that the privy council had disbanded the militia, and addressed the Prince in terms less flattering, and therefore probably more sincere than those which they had used to himself †: Finally, news arrived, that his forces had retreated from Reading, and then from Maidenhead, upon the approach of the Prince; that a battalion of Douglas's Scotch regiment, influenced by General Douglas, had declared for his enemies; and that the Prince and his army had advanced to Maidenhead, and were still marching forward.

While James was thus distracted with a succession of misfortunes, all the precincts of the palace, and the circumjacent streets, were crowded with the populace; some expressing their sentiments by sighs and tears for the King, others by clamours against him, all venting execrations on his priests: He, in the mean time, continued locked up in the palace, stripped of the powers of his mind, by the noise of tumult, by the reports which were continually brought him, and still more by the intervals of anxiety between the arrival of one messenger and that of another. All pressed upon him with their advices, according to their different affections and interests, the soldiers to fight, the priests to fly, because they were all flying themselves, the peers and others of property to persist in treating with the Prince: Of those who advised him against war, some begged him to spare himself; others, with less ceremony, to spare his people; and many, without proffering any thing of their own, were employed in objecting to the counsels

* The Chancellor was committed to Stirling castle, of which the Earl of Mar was governor. When the Prince arrived in London, Lord Mar asked him in what way he should keep his prisoner. The Prince answered with his usual brevity and pith, "Close as a Mouse." Mr. Baron Maull gave me this anecdote, which he heard from his father, who went with Lord Mar, to know the Prince's pleasure about the Chancellor.

† Lord Balcarras,

which

which had been given by others, because they had not been suggested by themselves.

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In this situation, Barillon the French ambassador, who saw that, if the parliament was allowed to settle the nation, there would be no pretence for France to meddle any longer in the troubles of England; and who knew of what consequence it was to his master, that a Prince, who had pretensions to the British crowns, should take refuge in France, urged James to retire into that kingdom, with the prospect of returning speedily, supported by greater succours than those he had refused. The Roman catholics*, who knew that they must fall the first victims to a pacification, but that they could not fail to meet with respect and pity among foreign nations, while they attended the person of a King suffering for religion, and whose sufferings they shared, advised him to the same measure. The argument they made use of was, That, as his departure would throw loose all the dependencies of government, it would reduce all things to a state of nature, and render the re-establishment of the nation impracticable: An argument which weighed much with James, who did not reflect, that convulsions had proved the sources of liberty to the English ever since the invasion of the Saxons.

The Queen who, according to the custom of women, was as much sunk by adversity as she had been elated by prosperity, and who had been reminded of the impeachment of the King's mother, and of the intention to impeach his brother's consort, adjured him, by the tender names of husband and father, to take care of his life, her infant's, and her own, and to fly from a land fatal to his house, and to royalty. Honour and pride alone opposed in the mind of James. In the end, he was prevailed upon to consent to the departure of the

* Duke of Buckingham, vol. 2. p. 76.

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The Queen
flies with
the Prince
of Wales.

Queen with the Prince, and to promise that he would speedily follow her: But his avoiding to go with her, discovered that this promise was given only in order to alleviate the anxieties of a separation.

On the sixth of December, in the evening, the Queen, with the nurse carrying the Prince, then five months old, in her arms, and accompanied by the Count of Laufune, so famous for his own misfortunes, and by a few attendants, went privately from Whitehall: She crossed the Thames, in an open boat, in a dark night, in a heavy rain, in a high wind, whilst the river was swollen, and at the coldest season of the year. A common coach had been ordered to wait for her upon the opposite side; but, by some accident, it was delayed for an hour. During this time, she took shelter under the walls of an old church at Lambeth; turning her eyes, streaming with tears, sometimes on the Prince, unconscious of the miseries which attend upon royalty, and who, upon that account, raised the greater compassion in her breast, and sometimes to the innumerable lights of the city, amidst the glimmerings of which, she in vain explored the palace in which her husband was left, and started at every sound she heard from thence. The coach carried her to Gravesend, where a vessel was ready, and landed her at Calais.

Terrors of
James.

When the Queen and the Prince were gone, the solitude of the palace conveyed ideas of horror to the King. In every person he met, he suspected an enemy or a betrayer; and from every look he gathered reasons for confirming the suspicions he had formed. Distance, or approach, were equally uneasy to him; for he imputed the one to consciousness of guilt, and the other to a desire of concealing it. A dispatch which he received privately from Lord Halifax completed his panic: For Halifax, in order to make amends for his original want
of

of merit when the Prince's expedition had been proposed to him; now invented a fiction to impel James to leave the kingdom: He gave him intelligence, that his person was in danger from the Prince, and that he had only a short time to save it*. James, upon this, prepared himself for flight. But, suitable to the state he was in, and to the step he was to take, his conversation was contradictory and ambiguous: He often repeated a saying of his father, "That small was the distance between the prisons of Princes and their graves †." To some he gave out, that he was to fight the Prince, and ordered the guards to be got ready. In the hearing of others, he ordered a council to be called next day. To Lord Mulgrave, who attended him as chamberlain, he said in the evening, that his commissioners had sent him good accounts of an accommodation with the Prince: Mulgrave saw through the affectation, shook his head, bowed, and dejectedly retired. He gave the diary, which, from his earliest youth, he had been accustomed to keep, to the ambassador of Savoy, to be sent to Marseilles. He gave secret warning to Father Petre, and Lord Mellfort, to avoid a danger which he knew their unpopularity would bring upon them: But he left Jeffreys to his fate; thinking it just that he should share those miseries of which he had in part been the instrument.

On the 11th of December, at three o'clock in the morning, attended by Sir Edward Hales, and two servants, James withdrew by a private passage from Whitehall, and passed the river in a barge rowed by two watermen, after giving orders to the Duke of Northumberland, who was the Lord in waiting, not to mention, until the morning, what he had seen. Some time before, he had destroyed the writs for a new parliament,

The King's
flight.

* Sir John Reresby.

† MS. Memoirs of the late Lord Balcarres.

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and now threw the great seal into the river. The seal was afterwards found by a fisherman, and brought to London; Heaven seeming by this accident to declare, that the laws, the constitution, and the sovereignty of Britain were not to depend upon the frailty of man. His flight being unknown to all, the rooms of the palace were filled in the morning, as usual, with company, to attend his levee. But, when the doors of his chamber were thrown open, and, instead of the King, the company saw the Duke of Northumberland come out alone, who informed them of his flight, and then, after this last piece of duty to his master and his uncle, went to the head of his troop of guards, and declared for the Prince of Orange, astonishment and confusion seized the court, the city, the camp, and the country. Lord Feversham increased the consternation: For James having left him a letter, in which he said, "He did not expect the troops to expose themselves at present," Feversham disbanded the army; many of the soldiers weeping, and others trembling with anger, whilst they heard the order read.

State of the
city.

As soon as the King's flight was known in the city, the populace rose, destroyed the popish chapels, committed outrages on the priests, and rifled the houses of several popish ambassadors; some actuated by zeal, others by the love of plunder, and many by mere wantonness. Jeffreys they seized in a seaman's habit at Wapping, endeavouring to find a ship for his escape. Treating him with that want of mercy which he had shewn to others, they carried him in his blue jacket, and with his hat flapped down upon his face, before the Lord Mayor, who, as soon as the hat was lifted up, and he beheld that countenance which used to strike terror wherever it appeared, fell into a faint with the

the shock of the surprise *, and died next day. Jeffreys, having been with difficulty rescued from the violence of those who surrounded him, was committed to the Tower, more for protection than for punishment; where he died of a disease contracted by terror, and the hurts he had received in the tumult.

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Freed from the restraints of government, and secure of impunity, it was feared the populace would have proceeded to greater excesses in a city containing above half a million of inhabitants, abounding in wealth, and unaccustomed to arms: But here they stopt, not from modesty and virtue, incapable as they are at all times of either, but from a habit of reverence for laws, which they knew not why they revered. All men however believed, that this moment of cessation from disorder would soon be interrupted by them or by others: And, in a situation where the King was fled, no parliament called, no authority of any kind in right to act, a foreign force in the kingdom, a people divided by factions, which many of the great were interested to increase, an army disbanded without pay or provisions, and a populace in arms and in clamour, those of wise and sober mind, expected evils to themselves and to the nation, imminent and perhaps lasting.

In order to increase these alarms, and to draw the attention of the nation to the Prince of Orange, who alone seemed to have the power of repressing disorder, the same Speke, who had counterfeited a declaration by the Prince †, now invented a piece of news, that the Irish part of the disbanded army had begun a massacre of the protestants. In times of terror, reports that are terrible easily find credit: None inquired into the truth of the massacre: All supposed it to be true: The panic

Universal
panic of an
Irish massa-
cre.

* North,

† Speke's Account,

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spread like lightning from one end of England to the other. In the city, the report was said to have been brought from the country; in the country, it was said to have come from the city: Some added circumstances to what they had heard; and when these were related back to themselves, or when they had often told them, they believed them to be true. The militia drums gave the alarm where it had not been already received; and the ringing of bells and burning of beacons confirmed it, where it had. During some days, all men stood to their arms, set watch in the night, and hung out lights, to descry the approach of the murderers. In London the shops were shut, and the doors of most houses barricadoed. In the parts of the country where villages were near to each other, people imagined they heard at a distance the cries of the dying, and the lamentations for the dead. Where the situations were more distant, they expected in horror their own fates.

Council of
peers.

In this state of disorder both in affairs and in the spirits of men, about thirty of the bishops and peers, who happened to be in London, assumed the reins of government. They at first carried along with them the magistracy of London: But men taken from counters and warehouses were found incapable even to concur with, much less to contrive or resolve upon, the great measures of state; and therefore their assistance was soon neglected to be asked. The peers formed themselves into a regular council, fixed a council-room, appointed their clerks, and times of meeting, chose a speaker, Lord Halifax, and exercised all powers of prerogative. To the magistrates of London, their late associates in government, they gave commands, as to their servants, to raise the militia. They issued orders to the fleet, to the King's disbanded army, and to all the considerable garrisons in England: They removed Skelton, whom James had appointed

gouvernor of the Tower, confined him, and put Lord Lucas in his place, because, every gun that was fired, struck the citizens with a frenzy of terror, that Skelton was battering the city to pieces: And they published a declaration, in which they censured the King for his flight, and resolved to apply to the Prince for protection from the dangers of popery and slavery. Their orders were every where obeyed: From the highest appearances of disorder, all things in a few days subsided into composure and subordination.

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The Prince received intelligence of these things on his march to London, and still marched on, without hurry in his army, or the appearance of being affected by what he heard, as if desirous to shew, that he was invited to government, and did not hasten to seize it. One of each order of the peerage delivered to him, at Henley, the declaration of the peers: The first who had signed it was the Archbishop of Canterbury. The magistracy and lieutenancy of London even presented him with an address, in which they thanked him for their deliverance, begged his protection, and invited him to London. The principal officers of the army met at Whitehall, and sent him an assurance, that they would give their aid in preserving the peace of the city, till he himself should undertake it. The Prince issued a declaration, which commanded the officers to assemble the regiments in proper places, and preserve them in discipline and quietness. He was instantly obeyed, as if he had been already King of England, and the nation in peace.

Addressees to
the Prince.

After the peers, the city, and the army, had discovered these marks of submission, news arrived which, it was feared, would have thrown all things again into confusion. The suddenness with which James had taken his resolution to fly, had prevented proper preparations from being made for his flight: A small bark had in-

James seized
at Fever-
sham.

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deed been hired at Feverſham, to carry him to an advice-veſſel, which always lay ready off Margate: But the bark had not her ballaſt on board: While the ballaſt was getting ready, the King had by accident been diſcovered by ſome fiſhermen, who were lying in wait to ſeize the prieſts in their flight, or, as the cant of the time expreſſed it, “were a prieſt coddling.” One of the fiſhermen ſwore, “he was ſure the priſoner was a “prieſt by his lantern jaws;” another kneeled, wept, and craved his pardon. The council was ſitting when the news came to London. A countryman came to the door with a letter from the King: All knew the meſſenger was there, yet no one would own that he did; ſome dreading that the Prince might take their interpoſition amiſs; and others, uncertain of his character, leſt, from generoſity or policy, he might puniſh ungenerous inattentions. The man could not get admittance. Hali-fax was haſtening to break up the council: But the Earl of Mulgrave, with an honeſt indignation, inſiſted that they ſhould ſit ſtill, and introduced the meſſenger, who, with tears, delivered his letter. It was without ſuperſcription, and only ordered to be delivered to any who would bring aſſiſtance. It was to this purpoſe: “The “King acquaints the reader, that he has been diſcovered “in his retreat, by ſome fiſhermen of Kent, and ſe- “cured at firſt there by the gentry, who were yet forced “afterwards to reſign him into the hands of an insolent “rabble.” Shame made the council ſhew that reſpect, which pity could not draw from them. They ordered Lord Feverſham, with 200 of the King’s life-guards and his coaches to attend him, and to leave it to himſelf either to retire abroad, or return as he pleaſed. He choſe to return to London, either from the fear of being again ſtopped by the rabble, who were all in alarm on the coaſt, or from the lingering love of a country in which he had reigned,

reigned, and the hopes of an accommodation. In the mean time he dispatched Lord Feversham to the Prince, with a letter, in which he invited him to St. James's.

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As it is natural for the human mind to forget past injuries, upon the sight of present misfortunes, and in violent passions to run from one extreme to another*, the populace attended his entry into London with universal expressions of joy for his return: The women standing still, prayed for him, and wept, as he passed; the men followed his coach with shouts, till it stopped at Whitehall. But the pleasure he received from this first welcome was short-lived: When he summoned a council the night of his arrival, only a few counsellors attended it†. The same solitude appeared in his court; the ungenerous avoiding him, lest they should share in his misfortunes, and the generous, to conceal their own depression, or lest they should appear to observe his. The city did not send him a deputation as usual with felicitations for his return. The populace retired to their houses as soon as it grew dark. Every thing reminded him, that he was all alone in the midst of a great people. Yet something remained of the King: He complained, that the council had presumed to exert acts of government, although himself had given it up.

Dec. 16.

In the mean time, one of those gentlemen who had assisted in detaining James, had posted to the Prince at Windsor, to inform him of what had happened. Being off his guard with the surprise, the Prince expressed his displeasure with the officiousness of those who had prevented the King from going off, and sent him a letter by Count Zulestein, not to come nearer London than Rochester; but which James did not receive until he

Behaviour
of the
Prince upon
this news.

* Duke of Buckingham, 88. Hist. deser. p. 92.

† Books of Privy Council, December 16.

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was at London. The Prince also arrested Lord Feverham, as soon as he arrived with the King's letter, under pretence that he had come without a passport, but in reality either because the Prince was * irritated by his having disbanded the army, or in order to mark to James that he was to wave all ceremony for the future. But afterwards he put on a more guarded behaviour, resolving, that severities to the King should proceed from his own subjects, and not from his son-in-law. With this view he called a general council at Sion-house, of all of rank among the English who were with him, laid James's letters before them, and asked their advice; being confident, that men who had gone so great lengths in affronting the authority of their Prince, would not chuse to reinstate him in it. It was agreed at this council, that the King should not be † permitted to reside in any of the royal palaces, but should be desired to remove to Ham, a house belonging to the Dutchess of Lauderdale, and that the Prince should not enter into treaty with one, who, by deserting his government, had thrown the whole machine of the constitution loose. Lord Clarendon, who, as often happens in differences between persons nearly connected, had only wished to humble, not to ruin the King, insisted that he should have leave to go to one of his country-palaces; but was over-ruled by Halifax. After the resolution was framed, Halifax proposed it should be carried to the King by one of the Prince's officers, and mentioned Count Solmes. "By your favour," said the Prince, "the resolution is your own, and one of yourselves shall deliver it;" and then, before an answer could be given, he named the Lords Delamere and Shrewsbury, with Halifax himself. The two former, who were in arms against James, readily

* Clarendon, December.

† Ibid. December 17.

assented: And Halifax, being reduced to the awkward distress of either disobliging the Prince, or, though he was the King's commissioner, of desiring the King to go out of his own palace, chose the latter: A circumstance which, creating much laughter in some, and even in the Prince against Halifax, raised in others pity for the King. Whilst these things were in agitation, some counselled more violent measures: But Princes are capable of sympathy with those of their own rank: The Prince of Orange discouraged the suggestion, and despised its authors.

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As soon as the Prince received this resolution of his English council for his warrant, distrusting the returns of compassion, and that political inconstancy which all foreigners are apt to impute to the British nations, he, the same day, sent part of his army to London, lest the city should be frightened with the sight of the whole; and ordered the Dutch guards to take possession of all the posts about St. James's and Whitehall, continuing himself with the rest of his army at Sion, until he should hear the effects of the orders he had given. The Dutch troops coming to Kensington and Chelsea, as the sun went down, made a halt for some hours to refresh themselves, and then prepared to march on. The halt gave time for reports to spread in the city: The darkness kept the citizens in ignorance, that it was only a detachment which approached: And hence a panic struck the city, when it was believed, that an entire army of foreigners was to enter it at midnight. Count Solmes, hearing of the tumult, rode himself to London, and informed Lord Craven, who commanded the guards, of the true state of things, and of the orders with which he was charged; but arrived late, by the delays he had met with from the multitudes in his way. Tendernefs of mind and courage go continually together. Craven was one of the very few
of

The Dutch
enter Lon-
don in the
night.

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of the great, who had never quitted London during the plague, having made himself at that time the constant associate of the great Duke of Albemarle in relieving the miseries of human kind; and he now, at the age of seventy, refused to give way, drew up his men, and prepared to die at their head. The Dutch, in the mean time, hearing that they were to meet with opposition, marched through the park at eleven o'clock at night, with drums beating, match lighted, and in order of battle. While the minds of all were intent upon the event, James, who was informed of the danger, sent orders for Craven to retire. The soldiers, when they first heard the order, murmured each to his neighbour, and then all aloud; and, when the order was repeated, often looking back, they slowly and indignantly retired.

The
Prince's
message to
James to
quit White-
hall.

At one o'clock of the morning, and not sooner, the Prince's commissioners, who had either been detained by the tumults in their approach to the town, or had created delays for themselves, arrived with their message from the Prince, for James to remove from his palace to Ham: This message was the more mortifying, because it was delivered by his own subjects, one of whom had been his minister, and was now his commissioner; and because he was desired to set out early in the morning, lest he should meet the Prince and his army on the road, who were to be in London the next afternoon. James was asleep when they arrived, and received the message in bed. He answered, he would comply; but called the commissioners back, when they were at the door, and told them, it would be more agreeable to him to make his residence at Rochester: A suggestion which occurred to him, partly from the dread natural to the mind of whatever is proposed by the object of its fear, but chiefly with a view, that by the neighbourhood of Rochester to the sea coast, he might the more easily find the means of escape:

escape: But the pretence he made use of was, that some of his own guards were in that town. Halifax begged the King to drop thoughts of Rochester; and, when the King objected, that there was no furniture for him at Ham, answered, with indifference, that it could easily be transported from one of the neighbouring royal houses. Shrewsbury, from the gallantry natural to a soldier, in his look and voice, treated James with high respect. Delamere stood silent, pleased, yet pensive. But, as soon as the Prince heard of the strange place of residence which James had chosen, perceiving his design, he gave orders that his desire should be complied with.

James, disliking the river, desired to pass through the city, and to go by land: Halifax, unfeelingly, answered, "That his presence in passing through the city would create disturbances, and move pity." By the carelessness of his own servants, who now looked to new masters, James continued in his barge an hour after he was ready, by which he missed the tide, and did not arrive at Gravesend till three hours after the sun was set in the month of December. Only five persons of distinction attended him: Lord Arran, son to the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Aylesbury, Lord Litchfield, Lord Dunbarton, and Colonel Richard Hamilton an Irish officer. The Dutch guards, in open boats, rowed before and behind him: Objects which struck him with terror, though perhaps it was not intended that they should. In passing the Tower, he reflected on the instability of all human things; that Skelton whom he had lately committed prisoner there, who had in a few weeks after been appointed governor by him, was now prisoner again in the same place; that Lord Delamere, whom he had sent twice prisoner to the Tower, and whose life he had brought into danger by trial, had carried him a message to depart from his own palace; and that, from amongst

James goes
to Roches-
ter.

above

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The Prince
arrives in
London.

above twelve millions of subjects, he had only five friends to attend him.

The Prince arrived at St. James's, the evening of the day on which the King left it. The multitude was prepared to receive him with those acclamations which are always paid to success. Despising their levity, he went through the park to avoid them. But he received the congratulations of the bishops, of the London clergy, of the dissenters, of the city of London, and of the lawyers, with respect: A lively saying of Serjeant Maynard, then ninety years of age, who came at the head of the lawyers, is remembered: For the Prince having paid him this compliment on the vigour of his age, "That he had outlived" "all the men of the law of his time:" Maynard answered, "I should have outlived the law itself, if your Highness had not come over." All ranks hastened to pay their respects to the Prince. Lord Mulgrave was the foremost to press for admittance: Whilst he waited at the door of the Prince's chamber, Bentinck observing him without his staff of Lord Chamberlain, said, "Comment, "mi Lord, vous avez quitté votre baton?"—"How, "my Lord, you have quitted your staff?" Mulgrave answered, partly with good, and partly with bad humour, "Il est bien temps."—"It is full time*."

Proceedings
of the peers.

Three days after, the Prince assembled the peers in the palace, to the number of about seventy, laid his declaration before them, desired them to consider the best means to attain its ends, and, without explaining himself any further, retired. They instantly returned him thanks for coming over, and most of them signed the Exeter association. But Lord Wharton of the Prince's party refused it, saying with a sarcasm which hit most of the assembly, he had signed so many associations, that he looked upon them as trifles. In order to give the greater appearance

of solemnity and independence to their proceedings, they then adjourned to their own house at Westminster, where they chose Lord Halifax their preses, and issued an order for all papists to remove from London: Steps which pointed out to the people, that they were to act by their own authority, though the King was in the kingdom.

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James lingered five days in England, fearful to stay, and yet unwilling to go. During this period the bishops, whom he had formerly persecuted, suspecting that he intended to go beyond seas, advised him to conceal himself in the city, and to wait events there. Whilst Lord Balcarras and Lord Dundee were with * him, an English Lord came in and told him, there were ten thousand disbanded soldiers about London, who could be brought together in a few hours, to fall on the Dutch troops who were dispersed in their quarters; and that he had a commission from many officers offering him their service for that end. "My Lord," answered the King, "You, I know, have honour; but those who send you have not." Yet, ignorant of the part which Lord Danby had secretly acted towards him, he offered to retire † into Yorkshire, if that Lord would give him protection: An offer which Danby prevented his repeating, by putting him in mind of the faults he had committed. A letter from the Queen, insisting upon the honour of his promise to join her speedily, at last determined his resolution; in which he was confirmed by Lord Middleton, who, being of a cautious temper himself, inspired timidity into his master. This letter had been intercepted, opened, and carried to the Prince, who was too well pleased with the contents, not to forward it to the King. Orders were given to make the guards, which were slight before, still slighter. On

James flies
to France.

* MS. Memoirs of the late Lord Balcarras. They do not mention the peer's name. His Lordship had the anecdote from his father.

† Reresby, 325.

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the 23d of December, in the night, attended by the Duke of Berwick, and two other persons, James went on horseback to a small vessel which was prepared for him, and which carried him to Ambleteuse in France, leaving a terrible example to all British Kings, not to invade the liberties or religion of Britain.

He left on his table at Rochester a paper, in which strokes of a high indignant spirit, mixed with zeal for his own religion, appeared. When this paper was published, the adherents and the enemies of the King remarked, the former with reverence, the latter with contempt, that those projects about religion, which had lost him his kingdom, occupied his last thoughts when he left it.

Lewis XIV, received him with the highest marks of consideration and honour ; either from policy, or sincere regard ; perhaps from both. But the greatness shewn in this generosity made the Prince, who stood in need of it, appear in a light so much the more humbling.

A P P E N D I X

T O

B O O K VI.

Letters and memoirs relative to the intrigues of the fleet at the Revolution; and relating to the conduct of the King and Prince of Orange, after the Prince landed.

Lord Hardwicke was so obliging as to give me the use of manuscript memoirs in his possession, of Byng Lord Torrington, which throw considerable light upon a part of the story of the Revolution, hitherto very little understood.

In this manuscript there are the following passages:

Extract from the MS. Memoirs of Byng Lord Torrington.
—*The intrigues of the fleet with the Prince of Orange.*

Extract first.

“ Lord Dartmouth remained three weeks with the fleet at the Nore, and then judging it most proper to lie off the Gunfleet, he therefore sailed with it there. Here my Lord called a council of war, when it was proposed, and much insisted on by some, that the fleet should go over to the coast of Holland, and there wait the motions of the Dutch. But this proposition had no effect; for the greater number of Captains were steady in their principles for the King, yet the chiefest and most considerable of them were otherwise inclined, and were in frequent meetings and cabals at this time. By their

management they brought over a majority of the council to think it was hazarding the fleet, to lie on that dangerous coast at this time of the year, and therefore much better to remain where they were, sending some frigates over to observe the Dutch fleet. So that to this opinion the council adhered, and the fleet only removed without the Ship Wash, Lord Dartmouth sending three frigates to observe them. This was a point artfully gained by those that were industrious to possess the fleet in favour of the Prince of Orange, and in ridiculing all the measures taken to prevent his designs. The Captains they were most desirous of bringing over to their party were, Ashby and Woolfred Cornwall, both of them zealous for the King, and had great credit in the fleet: It was therefore agreed, that Mr. Byng should break it to them, for Ashby being his Captain, he had a particular regard for him, and Cornwall was his most intimate friend. Mr. Byng himself had been early entrusted with what was then doing; for at a meeting in London, where the Duke of Ormond, General Kirk, Captain Aylmer, and others, were consulting of the designs then on foot, and upon mentioning who of the fleet could be trusted, Kirk had recommended Mr. Byng as a person he would answer for, and Captain Aylmer was to acquaint him with it, which he did, as they went down to the fleet, in the beginning of October, trusting himself with him upon General Kirk's assurances of his faithfulness to them. Mr. Byng replied, that Mr. Kirk should lose no honour by what he had said, assured him he would not betray him, desired to consider about joining with them, and finding by further discourse, that General Kirk, Mr. Ruffel, and other particular persons, were going over to the Prince of Orange, he then became willing to agree with them in their undertakings, and from that time was entrusted by them. Ashby was not soon prevailed on,

on, thinking that in their profession they were not taught to turn against the King. But after some discourse with Mr. Byng alone, and upon his telling him that he knew the dispositions of the most considerable persons in the fleet, and shewing the necessity there was to free themselves from popish oppression, he then yielded so far as to become a well-wisher to the cause. Mr. Cornwall was more difficult to be persuaded. In a discourse he expressed the obligations of himself and family to the King, and thought it a villany in those who attempted any thing against him; but when Mr. Byng named some persons that were engaged in it, that were his most intimate and particular friends, he was surpris'd, and when convinced of it, he gave up his zeal for the King, and from that time no man was more heartily in the cause, using his endeavours to bring over several in his own ship, and continued heartily attached to the Revolution principles to the day of his death.

Nov. 3. While the fleet lay off the Ship Wash by the Gunfleet, with the yards and topmasts down in a hard gale at E. S. E. the Dutch fleet passed by them, making the best of their way to the westward, and though it was foggy weather, yet six of their ships were within sight of the English fleet early that morning, upon which they got up their yards and topmasts, and three ships slipped immediately, and plyed to discover them, and soon after made the signal of seeing the enemy's fleet; but Lord Dartmouth could not stir with his, not only from the lee tide, but the wind blew hard and contrary for him to pursue them, which kept him at an anchor all that day and night, while it favoured the Dutch fleet, carrying them into Torbay.

The next day the Lord Dartmouth sailed with the English fleet, standing after that of the Dutch. It was well known that my Lord was to follow them, so there
was

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was a meeting of such Captains as were inclined to the Prince, to consult what measures they should take upon coming up with the enemy. Some of them were of opinion, that if my Lord attacked them, that in honour they should do their duty against them ; but the opinion to which they agreed, was, upon such an occasion, to leave him."

Extract second.

" The fleet had remained nine days in the Downs, when Lord Dartmouth sailed again to the westward with thirty men of war and eighteen fire ships ; but when he came off of Portland, they met with such bad weather as separated and forced them back into St. Helens and Spithead, which was, perhaps, from want of skill, for it is thought they might have stretched over, and got to windward, as did the *Defiance*, within sight of Alderney. Captain Ashby finding himself on the French coast, he was inclined to carry over his ship to the Prince. He was standing on our coast to look for the Dutch fleet, when meeting with Sir Roger Strickland, he could not avoid going with him into Spithead. When the fleet was here, and at the time the Prince of Orange was on his march from Exeter, those of the fleet who were well inclined to him, thought it time to shew themselves, and even some that were timorous and silent hitherto, at a meeting they had, they determined to send him a message, and to assure his Highness of their assistance and readiness to obey his orders. This was to be done in secrecy, and by word of mouth, and Mr. Byng was to undertake to execute this message, and to that purpose first addressed himself to Mr. Russell, who came with the Prince from Holland. Accordingly Mr. Byng obtained leave of Lord Dartmouth to be absent, on pretence of going into Huntingdonshire upon affairs that very much concerned him."

Extract third.

“ The Prince of Orange had passed Exeter, in his way to Salisbury, and was at the Earl of Bristol’s house, at Sherborne, when Mr. Byng came to him. The first person he met with that knew him, was my Lord Churchill, who was that day come with the Prince of Denmark, and from the stairs head asked him, what he did there? Mr. Byng desired he would ask no questions, but carry him to a private room, where he might see Mr. Russel; who coming to him, he acquainted him with his message, and was then by him conducted to the Prince of Orange, all the company then retiring except Mr. Russel, and he then delivered to his Highness the message from the officers of the fleet, naming those who had engaged themselves to assist him. The Prince expressed great satisfaction at such welcome assurances, received Mr. Byng with courtesy, and promised him, if he succeeded, he would take care particularly to remember him. He sent him back with an answer to the officers of the fleet, and with a letter to Lord Dartmouth, to acquaint him of the necessity of his coming over, and of his intentions to continue him at the head of the fleet, with promises that Admiral Herbert (between whom there was some variance) should not be advanced over him. This letter the Prince advised Mr. Byng to put into the stuffing of his saddle, lest, in case he was seized, it should be found upon him; but he thought it best to quilt it in the rowlers of his breeches; so Mr. Byng, taking his leave, returned safely to the fleet again. There was some difficulty how to give this letter to Lord Dartmouth, whose zeal to the King was well known; and therefore Mr. Aylmer undertook it, and one morning took an opportunity privately to lay it upon his toilette, This letter had some effect on him,

for

for from that time he seemed inclinable to the Prince's party, though his real thoughts could no ways agree with the measures then taken; yet he was terrified at the disposition of the nation, and of the fleet, that he thought it to no purpose to oppose them, and knew not what might be the consequences to himself, since the Prince of Orange advanced with such success, and all the people were daily rising against the King. He was the more cautious in his behaviour from a design that was discovered to seize him on board the commanded by Captain Hastings, who had invited him to dinner for that purpose, in which case they intended to give the command of the fleet to the Duke of Grafton. But Captain Davy Floid, who had found himself neglected by his old friends, and from the favour he was in with the King's party, having knowledge of it, discovered their design to Lord Dartmouth, by which means he avoided their putting it in execution by excusing himself from going. He continued in great doubt how to behave with regard to the Prince's party in the fleet, and to act according to his principles, and consistent with his duty to the King, seeing himself in the power of those of the other party, and not able to refuse his assistance in an attempt of the most dangerous consequence; for the young Prince of Wales had been brought down to Portsmouth, to go in a yacht to France with Sir Roger Strickland, which being known to several Captains of the fleet, they were resolved to seize him, and representing to Lord Dartmouth the consequence it might be to himself to suffer his escape when the nation was in confusion, and the government unsettled, they obliged him to give orders to Captains Aylmer, Hastings, and Shovel, to intercept the yachts as they should come out of Portsmouth, in case he should escape Captain Cornwall and Mr. Byng, who were appointed to go with armed boats

boats to wait his coming off, to lay that yacht on board where the Prince of Wales should be; and in case of resistance, these three ships were ready to take him in case he escaped from them. Upon this design Captain Cornwall and Mr. Byng were employed, taking it by turns each night to remain in the armed boat, while the other remained in the town, to get intelligence of the time of his going off, appointing a place to confer at upon occasion over the town wall. At the time Captain Cornwall was in town, he observed a great hurry in Mr. Ridge's house, where the Prince was lodged, and who was then on the stairs going to embark, where he found the Duke of Powis's (Governor of the town) coach and six horses at the door, and approaching them in the dark, felt their legs, which he found dry, which made him conclude it was not a coach come in, but going out of town. He was surprised at this, and found an end of their enterprize, the Prince of Wales going in the Duke's coach to London. They were nigh succeeding, since all the baggage and necessaries for the child were then on board, and he certainly upon the point of going off. This was a great disappointment to those who had projected the design, yet they afterwards thought their zeal had carried them beyond their policy, and that they were fortunate by their ill success in such an attempt; since their being possessed of the Prince's person must have perplexed the affairs then in hand. It was thought this discovery was made by Lord Dartmouth, who could neither avoid giving the orders he did, nor suffer them to be put in execution, and that by giving notice of it to the King, the Prince might escape.

The Prince of Orange making great progress in his march to London, and all the country joining with him, the King abandoned by those he most confided in, and the Queen sent with the young Prince away to

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France, deserted by his army, and seeming himself to have no remedy but in his flight, circumstances that so terrified my Lord Dartmouth, that he wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, offering the fleet to his Highness's service, and sent it by Captains Aylmer, Hastings, and Byng."

The opportunity which the Duke of Grafton had of serving the Prince of Orange's interest in the fleet, is confirmed by a letter from Barillon to his court, of the 6th Nov. 1688, in which he says, that the Duke of Grafton had asked leave to go down to the fleet as volunteer under Lord Dartmouth, and was gone there.

The Earl of Dartmouth was so obliging as to communicate to me the following letters, relative to his ancestor's conduct in the command of the fleet at the Revolution, and the part which he acted with regard to the transporting of the young Prince into France.

Letters which passed between King James and Lord Dartmouth, whilst Lord Dartmouth lay with the fleet at the mouth of the Nore.

Extract of King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, Oct. 8, 1688.

" You will have an account from Mr. Pepys of what is done about the victuals, and what Sir R. Haddock and the rest of them said to me this evening; which if so, you may be soon ready to sail with most of your ships, and though all that are in the Hope should not be quite ready, consider well whether you should lose the opportunity of this westerly wind to get out from among the sands, or venture to have the Dutch come and find you posted somewhere near the buoy of the Ozeedge
among

among the sands, for you must expect they will come out, and be looking for you with the first easterly wind, &c."

*Extract of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated
Buoy of the Nore, October 12, 1688.*

"I am infinitely sensible of the great trust your Majesty is pleased to put in my conduct of this fleet, which, to the best of my understanding, shall be faithfully performed for your service. Your Majesty cannot be more desirous to have me from among the sands, than I am impatiently endeavouring to get out. I judge it much more for your service to unite while we have time, than to drop out in parcels with the hazard of being separated, especially knowing myself here in the best place to do my business while these winds continue; and be assured, Sir, I shall be at sea upon the first alteration. And, Sir, though it is your Majesty's great goodness to trust so great a concern to me, yet I humbly beg leave to lay my thoughts before you, that your Majesty may please to judge better, and to give me your commands, if you please to approve or disapprove of my present intentions, which cannot be final till I am at sea, and, with the humblest submission, may alter with the opportunities I may meet, being hard to take any result but as the place and occasion may offer. None of the Portsmouth ships are yet come to me, therefore, at my first going out, I will look towards the Downs, and see what ships I can get from thence, and leave directions with those ships that are to follow, to come thither first, where farther orders shall lye ready for them: With what I have with me I intend to keep the sea as much as possibly I can, thinking that much safer for this squadron, than to venture being any where embayed, or trusting myself to be

set upon in any road, and if it shall be necessary for me to ride at any time in the Downs, I will always put to sea upon any easterly winds. As soon as I get a reasonable squadron together, I believe it for your Majesty's honour and service, if the weather be any thing reasonable, to shew myself upon their coast, as near as I conveniently can in the day time, still standing off to get good sea room every night, while I see it reasonable to stay thereabout."

*Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated
Whitchhall, October 14, 1688.*

"I make no doubt but that God will protect me, and prosper my arms both by land and sea. I need say no more to you, being sure you will do what is best for my service, which you that are on the place are the only judge of, and must govern yourself according to the enemies motions, and as wind and weather will permit."

*Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated
Oaz Edge, October 17, 1688.*

"We are all now of opinion that upon the first slatch of wind and fair weather, we should fall down to the Gunfleet, where though it be hard roading, yet the ground is good, and we shall be well formed: There we shall be ready to cover Harwich as well as the river Thames; be able to go to sea, if occasion be; or we can but come up again at worst; we shall be ready to look towards the channel, have very good anchoring between the Kentish Knock and the North Sands-head, and the Downs always to friend upon bad weather. This, Sir, with the humblest submission to your Majesty's better judgment, is the present measures I think of, till any thing better offers for your service.—Upon the caution
your

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your Majesty hath given me, I will not venture over on the coast of Holland, without I see settled fair weather, which is not impossible after so much bad."

*Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated
Gunfleet, October 24, 1688.*

"I thank God I am at last got hither, with your Majesty's fleet safe, and in as good condition for the time as could be expected, whatever may be suggested to the contrary; and our coming out not sooner hath been hitherto for the best, as I hope all things will do for your advantage. Sir, we are now at sea before the Dutch after all their boasting, and I must confess I cannot see much sense in their attempt, with the hazard of such a fleet and army, at the latter end of October, and if they can make use of this moon, it is as good for us as them."

*Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated
Gunfleet, October 29, 1688.*

"—I thank God your Majesty's fleet is in very good condition, and (considering the whole matter your Majesty hath been so graciously pleased to leave to me) I will endeavour to keep it so, &c."

*Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated
Gunfleet, October 30, 1688.*

"Since mine to your Majesty yesterday, the wind came up last night, between 9 and 10 o'clock to the N. and continued most of the night between the N. and N. N. E. About 4 o'clock I gave the signal for unmooring, and we are just now under sail with the tide of ebb, and the wind at S. S. E. and hope to get clear of the Galloper before night. On Friday last the Prince of Orange and Herbert were both seen at Helvoetsluys, so that they could not be stirring, as the winds have been, till last night and this morning; no doubt,

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doubt, they will get all to sea this day, and I hope by to-morrow, to give your Majesty a better account of them. I have my scouts out, and I believe it impossible for us to miss such a fleet. God prosper your Majesty, and send you victory over your enemies; I am sure I will endeavour heartily my part towards it."

*Copy of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated
Nov. 5, 1688.*

"SINCE mine to your Majesty on Tuesday last, by Mr. Bridges, I came that night to an anchor at six o'clock, the Nar bearing W. and Balzy Church N. W. and by N. with a very fresh gale of wind, at due E. Besides the 3 cruizers I had out before, I sent out the Suadado's to ply to the northward, upon the receipt of the abstract from Marquis d'Albeville's letters. The Katherine yaucht I ordered to ply off to the Eastward, and the Kitchen to the Southward; the King-fisher Ketch was likewise sent to Ostend, with letters from captain Rooth. But all this, as the wind stood, and as it blew so hard, availed me nothing; for on Thursday our frigates that were sent a-cruizing were drove back, and came to an anchor in our offing at a league and a half to the windward of us; one of them came in without a fore-topmast, and another wanted his maintopmast. It blowed so very hard that we were forced to strike all our yards and topmasts, and rid with two cables and a half out, the wind fretting and never varying above one point either way. Just at break of day on Saturday morning, we saw 13 sail about three leagues to windward of us; the 3 frigates that lay without us cut, but could fetch but one fly-boat that had lost her rudder; she was taken by the Fore-sight, and sent into the Downs with the Swallow, who it seems sprung a leak, so that I fear I shall have little good from her. Major Colondsby of colonel Babington's
regimen

regiment with 290 men were in the fly-boat, and as I am told, the common men rejoiced when they were taken, but I do not find the officers so, though the Major pretends a great deal. I got all ready to sail with the fleet on Saturday, but the sea came in so heavy, and the tide fell so cross, that we could not till yesterday morning. We got under sail at 8 o'clock, with the wind E. S. E. a top-sail gale. About 10 captain Clements came in to us, with the Katherine yaucht, which was the first news we received of the Prince of Orange, for the Foresight returned not to us till 2 this afternoon, to give an account of the fly-boat. We made all the sail possible we could to the Northward, the weather came very fair, and the wind continued at E. S. E. a steady gale. By 8 at night we got about the Southsands-head; about 12 we got the length of the Nefs, and I hauled in with the shore, lest they should be in Rye Bay; but it pirred so little wind from 12 o'clock, that when the flood came in we could scarcely stem it, and got no further than Beachey by 9 this morning; but this ebb I hope we shall make better of it. Thus I have given your Majesty a true account of all my proceedings, which are so far from the vain hopes I had, that I take myself for the most unfortunate man living, though I know your Majesty is too just to expect more than wind and weather will permit.

Sir, finding that the Dutch sailed by Dover on Saturday in the afternoon, and that they had a fresh gale all that night, and a fair wind all yesterday, and such weather for their purpose and so little for mine to-day, I am in great apprehensions they will be landed before we fetch them; and if their fleet lie at St. Helens, whilst the rest land in Stokes Bay and Hampton water, their fleet being so much superior, as I find they are, both in number and quality, I am at a stand what to do; for on calling the flag officers and commanders, they unanimously advise me
against

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against attacking the Dutch fleet, if all possibility of hindering their landing be over ; though every body I assure you, Sir, I think are so exasperated at the Prince of Orange's proceedings, that I am once more confident they will venture their lives very heartily in your Majesty's service. I consider the success of their landing, and beating your only fleet, together with the destruction, as I may say, of the flower of the English fleet, or so many of them at least as are here at present. Sir, I confess the thoughts of this, with the consequence it may have in London, and all over England, checks my inclination of setting upon them without your Majesty's further orders ; but I resolve to endeavour to fall in with the Isle of Wight at break of day to-morrow morning, and see what advantage it will please God to offer me, taking the caution not to shoot too far to the westward in the night, nor to engage your fleet unreasonably, or at least that I see some hopes of doing it.

Just as I was finishing this, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir Jo. Berry, and Captain Davis came all together to me, and earnestly pressed that I would not proceed to make the Dutch with the whole fleet, in consideration that the squadron is at present so weak ; shewing what are now wanting of what I should have with me, which are the Swallow and Tyger in the Downs ; the Dover, Bonadventure, and Suadado's not yet come to us from cruising with the Foresight ; since we came into the channel, the Speedwell and Sally Rose fireships missing, as is all the small craft, except one ketch and the two yachts, besides the Yorke, Woolwich, St. Alban's, and Newcastle ; so that at present we want twelve. They further urged, that they are doubtful that upon our appearance their whole fleet would come out to us, and either force us to a disadvantageous battle, or a disgraceful going from them ; so that I have now resolved with them to ply off and on, and

jogg on easily till the scouts I have now, upon their advice, sent to the westward, bring me an account of the enemy, and that the ships a-stern (or rather left behind for the present) come up to me; and that I know your Majesty's pleasure what you would have me do; which I humbly desire may be as soon as is convenient, for the case is much different now, and from what it would have been if we had been so happy to have met them before they were discharged of their great convoy. The places I am likely to come to anchor at, are the Nefs or the Downs, where I believe some of our ships may be that are missing. I understand the Prince of Orange changed his measures upon his last coming aboard, when he heard your Majesty's fleet was at the Gunfleet; for before that he intended for the river. Pray God Almighty direct and protect your Majesty; and notwithstanding all this, I hope, by his blessing, yet to be able to render your Majesty good service from this squadron, as time and opportunity offers; for I am faithfully and heartily devoted to your Majesty to my life's end."

Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, November 9, 1688.

"I had last night your's by Captain Rooth, but had not then leisure to answer it, and am fully satisfied you did all that you could, and that nobody could work otherwise than you did. I am sure all knowing seamen must be of the same mind, and therefore be at ease as to yourself, and consider of the best means of securing the squadron you have with you, and of being in a condition of taking such advantages upon the enemy which may offer themselves to you," &c.

I found among Lord Preston's dispatches, in the possession of Mr. Graham, the following letter from Lord

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Preston to Lord Dartmouth, which shews both the sentiments which the King entertained of Lord Dartmouth's not having betrayed the command with which he was trusted, and the aversion of these Lords to the popish counsels of their master.

Lord Preston to Lord Dartmouth.—Complains of popish counsels.—The King pleased with Lord Dartmouth's conduct.

My Lord,

London, Nov. 11th, 1688.

“ I HAVE received your Lordship's very kind letter of the fifteenth instant, and was very glad to find by it that you were in good health, which I hope God will continue to you. I wish you all the success that may be, in whatsoever you undertake, and I must assure you that notwithstanding the malice of a party at court, which hath already almost wrought our destruction, your Lordship is extremely safe and happy in the King's justice to you; who knoweth, and hath declared publicly and privately, that it was impossible for you to take other measures than you did when the Dutch passed by you. He is this afternoon gone for Windsor, and hath taken the Prince with him in order to have him at Portsmouth.

The Queen stayeth here for some time.

God give him good success, and grant him a safe return.—God of heaven send us a good meeting, and preserve you. You may be assured that I shall be watchful over whatever concerns you. I shall ever remain, &c.”

Letters between King James and the Earl of Dartmouth concerning the transporting the young Prince into France.

Andover, Nov. 25, 1688.

“ I SEND this to you by the Lord Dover, whom I send to Portsmouth to command in chief there. I am going back to London myself, intending to be there to-morrow; and have ordered all my army to quarter along the river, beginning at Marlo. He will tell you how Lord Churchill and Duke of Grafton are gone over to the enemy with some others. I have charged Lord Dover also to speak with you of my intentions concerning my son, and you must follow Lord Dover’s directions as to what concerns our said son, by being assisting to him in what directions I have given him by word of mouth. I have not time to say more.”

Whitehall, Nov. 29, 1688.

“ THIS is the second letter I write to you upon the subject of my son, though the other was from Andover, as I remember; it will not have been delivered to you sooner than this; that was not given to you sooner, hoping still things would not have been so very bad as they are. ’Tis my son they aim at, and ’tis my son I must endeavour to preserve, whatsoever becomes of me; therefore I conjure you to assist Lord Dover in getting him sent away in the yachts, as soon as wind and weather will permit, for the first port they can get to in France, and that with as much secrecy as may be; and so that trusty men may be put in the yachts, that he may be exposed to no other danger but that of the sea; and know I shall look upon this as one of the greatest pieces of service you can do me.”

“ Nov. 30. Since the writing of what is before, I have altered my mind as to the delaying of it a little, as you

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will see more at large by mine to Lord Dover, to which I refer you, and do again conjure you to use your utmost endeavours to have my son secured, as in the first part of this letter, and to have all things ready when 'tis proper for him to embark, as I have already said in mine to Lord Dover."

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688.

"UPON the receiving of this you are immediately to put in execution the orders I have already given you and Lord Dover, for the sending away of my son, the Prince of Wales."

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688. 9 at night.

"MR. Pepys writes the news to you, so that this is only to tell you I had this morning yours of the 28th and 30th; and though, as you say in it, I have reason to mistrust mankind, yet I assure you, though all the rest of those about me should betray me, I could never suspect you, as you may have seen by some letters of mine, which I hope will have been given you before this gets to you. Let me know by this messenger, when he returns, when you received them; I shall be very impatient till I know you have had them, and put those orders in execution."

These four letters, together with another, dated Nov. 29, relating only to the disposition of the fleet, are together in one parcel, on the outside of which is the following endorsement, viz.

"These three letters received not till the 2d of December; two by the hands of Lord Dover, the other as indorsed in Mr. Pepys's packet: The other two being dated the 1st December, were brought to me soon one after the other, on the 3d in the morning. All these five letters were answered on that 3d of December, and

delivered to my Lord Dover, and by him sent with a messenger on purpose. Resolved, between us both, not to do any thing in carrying away the Prince of Wales till we have his Majesty's further order, and an answer to my letter."

Lord Dartmouth to King James. — His reason for declining to carry the young Prince to France.

Spithead, December 3, 1688:

"**Y**ESTERDAY in the afternoon Lord Dover came aboard me, and brought me two letters from your Majesty, one dated at Andover the 25th of November, the other at Whitehall of the 29th, with a post-script of the 30th, on the subject of sending away the Prince of Wales, wherein you were pleased to shew thoughts of delaying your intentions therein, and I must confess I was in hopes, if your Majesty took the least time to consider, you would find so many undeniable reasons to the contrary, as would soon oblige your Majesty to alter your resolutions, and therefore I forbore shewing my Lord Dover the surprise I was at first in; but by two letters dated from Whitehall yesterday (which I received this day soon after another), with the greatest dread and grief of heart imaginable, I understand your Majesty persists in your former intentions and consultation held with my Lord Dover, in sending away the Prince, and conjures me to be assisting therein. I need not tell your Majesty how strict the laws are in this matter, nor after so many experiences of my duty, and loyalty to your person, lay before you fresh assurances of giving ready obedience to any commands within my power; but to be guilty of treason to your Majesty and the known laws of the kingdom, of so high a nature as this, when your Majesty shall further deliberate on it, I most humbly hope you will not exact it from me, nor longer

longer entertain so much as a thought of doing that, which will give your enemies an advantage, though never so falsely grounded, to distrust your son's just right, which you have asserted and manifested to the world (in the matter of his being your real son born of the Queen) by the testimonies of so many apparent witnesses. Pardon me therefore, Sir, if on my bended knees, I beg of you to apply yourself to other counsels; for the doing this looks like nothing less than despair, to the degree of not only giving your enemies encouragement, but distrust of your friends and people, who I do not despair but will yet stand by you, in the defence and right of your lawful successor. Your Majesty knows I have always professed myself of the Church of England, and I humbly appeal to you if I ever gave you promises of being of any other; and therefore as such, and a faithful servant, subject and counsellor, I beg leave to advise you, and give you my humble opinion, that sending away the Prince of Wales, without the consent of the nation, is at no time advisable, and therefore the doing it at this time especially, and that to France, being what I dread will be of fatal consequence to your person, crown, and dignity, and all your people will (too probably) grow so much concerned at this your great mistrust, as to throw off their bounden allegiance to you, which God forbid; therefore pray, Sir, consider farther on this weighty point: For can the Prince's being sent to France, have other prospect than the entailing a perpetual war upon your nation and posterity; and giving France always a temptation to molest, invade, nay hazard the conquest of England, which I hope in God never to see, but that we may have this Prince of your own loins, to rule over us. The most I can apprehend your Majesty may be jealous of, is his being brought up in the religion of the Church of England, and that ought (for his Royal
Highness's

Highness's sake especially) to be the prayer of every honest loyal subject. Pardon me therefore, Sir, that I most earnestly implore you, not to make me the unhappy instrument of so apparent ruin to your Majesty and my country, as an act of this kind will be; and I hope your Majesty will not suffer it to be done by any other, for I can foresee nothing less from it, than the putting in hazard your own sacred person and the Queen's, and making England the most miserable nation in the world.

Remember I pray, Sir, how prophetically I have foretold you your misfortunes, and the courses you might have taken to have avoided them, which I do not mention to reproach you, but to put you in mind of doing it now at last; and for heaven's sake, Sir, as you have made a great step towards reconciliation by publishing your Royal intentions of calling a parliament, treat (if your condition be no better) and that fairly; God in his infinite mercy will preserve you, and your Royal Issue, and the Church of England will defend you in all your just rights, and remove the disturbers of your peace, and settle you as great and firm on your throne, as any of your predecessors. Pardon me, Sir, for being thus free with you, for it proceeds from a sincere heart, and concern for you and yours; and what has past between us on this unfortunate subject shall never be an injury to you, by being made known from me, and I know your goodness is too great to think ill of your constant faithful servant, or to impute to me any disobedience; for what I have thus most humbly laid before your Majesty, is really and honestly, from the utmost and extreme care and concern I have for yours, the Queen's and Prince's real preservation; for as I will not be instrumental in, nor suffer him to be carried into France, if by any means I can prevent it, so on the other hand, I will frankly venture my life in your Majesty's and his defence;

fence; and as the last expedient, I can at present propose nothing more essential to your Majesty's great service, than in delivering him safe into your own Royal custody, and the sooner your Majesty gives me order for it, it will be the better. Sir, I am afraid if I go from hence, the Dutch fleet will soon be here, and I likewise fear the Prince of Orange's forces may cut between you and Portsmouth, therefore I desire your Majesty will give me order for bringing the Prince to you speedily, and that you will please to recollect yourself, and apply reasonable means to prevent what you seem to be under such dreadful apprehensions of. Your Majesty may see in what confusion I am, so that I can say no more, but my daily prayers to God Almighty, to direct and prosper you."

Lord Dartmouth to King James.—Upon his first flight.

Spithead, the 2d.

"IT is impossible for me to express the grief and anxious cares I am in for your Majesty, and the news of your withdrawing was the greatest surprize of my life; for I did humbly hope, my dutiful supplications to your Majesty would with your own considerate thoughts have wholly altered your intentions of sending away the Prince of Wales, and did think it impossible ever to enter into any body's thought, that had the least inclination of duty to your Majesty, to give you so pernicious and destructive counsel as to go away yourself; and if your Majesty had been drove to such a desperate course (which was morally impossible, at least in my thoughts) as to absent yourself, Sir, could you have been with more honour and safety, than in your own fleet, who would always unanimously (I dare say) have protected and defended your sacred person, from any violence or unhallowed hands; but this looks like so
great

great mistrust of me, that many can witness it hath almost broke my heart. Your Majesty knows what condition you left the fleet in, and me in the utmost unsupportable calamity of my life; what could I do but send to the Prince of Orange, when I found the whole nation did, and received orders from the Lords, which were communicated to the fleet, and removed all Roman Catholic officers. I have had yet no return from the Prince of Orange, but I hope all will end in your Majesty's happy re-establishment. Mr. Pepys will acquaint your Majesty with the state of the fleet, and Mr. Vaudry, I hope, will do me justice of my care of the Duke of Berwick, garrison and harbour of Portsmouth, with all the great ships; but withal, my confusion is so great, that I am only able to beg God Almighty's protection of your Majesty, and to deliver you out of all these troubles, which shall not only be the prayers, but hearty endeavours of a heart that never studied any thing but your real service, and will ever do to my unfortunate life's end."

The Princess Anne to the Prince of Orange.—Prince George is to join him.—Uncertain whether to continue where she is, or to repair to the city.

The Cockpit, November 18.

"H A V I N G on all occasions given you and my sister all imaginable assurances of the real friendship and kindness I have for you both, I hope it is not necessary for me to repeat any thing of that kind; and on the subject you have now wrote to me, I shall not trouble you with many compliments, only in short assure you, that you have my wishes for your good success in this so just an undertaking; and I hope the Prince will soon be with you, to let you see his readiness to join

with you, who I am sure will do you all the service that lyes in his power. He went yesterday with the King towards Salisbury, intending to go from thence to you as soon as his friends thought it proper. I am not yet certain if I shall continue here, or remove into the city; that shall depend on the advice my friends will give me; but wherever I am, I shall be ready to shew you how very much I am your humble servant."

The Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—The Princess Anne thinks of joining the Prince of Orange.

S I R,

Nottingham, December 2.

"**W**E are just arrived here, and find the gentlemen here much disposed to go in to you. Her Highness has a desire to go with them, that she may be under your protection: That you may therefore contrive how to secure her passage to you, it is fit you should know the condition of our troops here; they are very raw, and defective of good officers. We shall march a thousand, and increase every day very much, but still we are very weak in discipline. I beseech you, therefore, Sir, to advise best of this matter what forces will be necessary for you to send, and wherever I shall meet them, and when. I am, Sir," &c.

Lord Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—The Princess Anne wishes to join him.

Nottingham, Dec. the 2d, at midnight.

May it please your Highness,

"**B**Y this express your Highness will receive notice from the Princess and likewise from the Bishop of London, that she intends to join your Highness as soon as she can. I shall presume to add nothing more, only
to

to give your Highness, as near as I can, a state of our force. We are (reckoning the gentlemen that are with us) in all about a thousand horse, but both our officers are unexperienced, and our men new raised; of these we shall make about two troops of dragoons, and I am afraid no more. We can have great numbers of foot, if we had arms, and submit to your Highness whether you will order me to march with such. If not, in my humble opinion, it would be absolutely necessary that a detachment were sent to meet the Princess at some certain place, for at this time we are in perfect ignorance (at least I am in my particular) where your Highness is. I likewise humbly beg that your Highness would appoint every day's march."

Earl of Bath to the Prince of Orange.—Is to obey the Prince's directions.

May it please your Royal Highness,

"I DO with all possible gratitude acknowledge the great honour of your late most gracious letter with so many signal marks of favour and goodness towards me, which I shall endeavour to deserve by all the faithful services and actions of my life. Having now fully discoursed with my most worthy friend the bearer, and particularly imparted to him the methods and measures that I have presumed to think fittest to be taken in this juncture, with my resolution to submit all things to your pleasure and great wisdom, I crave leave most humbly to refer myself to his relation, and shall ever yield perfect obedience to your commands, and improve my utmost interest with all zeal for your service, who am, with all duty and respect," &c.

Nov. 18, 1688.

The Bishop of Bristol to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince.—Concurs in his enterprise.

“**I** RECEIVED the great honour of your Highness’s letter, and beg leave to return you my most humble thanks for those kind opinions you have been pleased to conceive of me, which I shall endeavour still to preserve.

My Lord Shrewsbury (with whose conduct we are all extremely pleased) will give you a full account of what has been done here, which if your Highness shall approve of, it will be great satisfaction to me, that I have bore some part in the work which your Highness has undertaken with the hazard of your life, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, the laws and liberties of this kingdom.

I desire Almighty God to preserve you, as the means of continuing to us the exercise of our holy religion and our laws; and humbly beseech your Highness to believe me very ready to promote so good a work, and on all occasions to approve myself your Highness’s,” &c.

Bristol, December 5.

Bishop of St. Asaph to the Prince of Orange.—Irritates the Prince against the King.—Has tried in vain to get the Bishop of Ely to adopt the idea of a cession of the crown by the King.

S I R,

December 17, 1688.

“**I** DID not find the Bishop of Ely at home, but I looked him out, and broke the matter to him with all possible care, that he might not discover what I said to be any more than my own thoughts; and it was well I used this caution, for I found him strongly possessed with a project of accommodation. He told me what my
Lord

Lord Halifax said he had spoken to his Majesty formerly, when the King was sending him commissioner to his Highness, and told his Lordship he was willing to make large concessions for peace. He told his Majesty he could not expect that the Prince would accept of any less concessions than such as would put it out of his power to do such things as he had done heretofore against the laws. The Bishop said, that now he believed his Majesty was willing to do all that could be required of him, and even to be reduced to the state of a Duke of Venice, committing all the power of war and peace, and of making all officers, ecclesiastical and civil, to the Prince for his lifetime; or that he would consent to bills in parliament for that purpose, and to all other bills that should be offered for the security of religion and civil rights. I did not think it worth the while to ask him what reason he had to believe this, both because I was not instructed on that subject, and also because I did not think the church and kingdom would be very safe in such an accommodation. I was not provided to answer what he said, that this way was most agreeable to his Highness's declaration. But how unsafe it would be, I shewed him by all the reasons in my instructions, which he was not able to answer. Yet I could not persuade him to propose the other way of cession, he has too great a tenderness for that, and besides he despaired of doing good in it. If there be any good way of bringing his Majesty to this, it must be by some of the criminals that are in danger of the law; they are the men that have always had the greatest power with him; and now their power is like to be so much the greater, because he looks upon them as his sufferers, though, in truth, he is theirs. And they have not done with him yet; for, as I am certainly informed, there was a throng of Papists about him last night, with Mons. Barillon at the head of them; and this day there were thirty or forty

at his Majesty's dinner, and no other priest but a Jesuit to say grace.

I beseech God to direct his Highness in all these difficulties, and to bless all his councils with success; and the same gracious God to continue your health, and to fill you with all comforts."

But the most material letter of all is the following anonymous one, which seems written by a person of condition, and suggests directly to the Prince to assume the crown. I cannot find out the hand-writing.

Anonymous letter to the Prince of Orange, urging him to take the crown.

"THE occasion of my presenting this to your Highness, arose from my Lord Hallifax coming on Friday last to me, to let me know that he and my Lord Nottingham and Lord Godolphin were appointed by the King to go commissioners to treat with your Highness; and that he received the employment with some trouble. I freely told his Lordship that he had reason so to do, for he would give very unhappy suspicions that he was engaged in a design to give a stop to your Highness's advancing to this place by the delays of a treaty, and the mistaken notion of an accommodation; for I plainly told him that nothing of that would be endured, for there was no room left for trust, and every thing must be built upon new foundations: He seemed then fully to agree with me, and assured me he would not act so as to deserve the least censure of this nature.

Yesterday, being Saturday, he came again to me in the evening, and told me, that though the trumpet that was sent to your Highness for a passport was not yet returned, yet they were ordered to go next morning (which is this Sunday) to Windsor, and next day to Reading, and to expect to meet the trumpet by the way.

I perceived by this haste that they were reduced almost to a dependancy on this design, and, therefore, by the advice of some considerable persons here, whose interest in the city and parliament will be very great, I have presumed to give your Highness this account, that you may not only be prepared to judge of his proceedings, but also that you may be presented with the general sense of things here as near as I can collect them ; and I may presume to assure your Highness, that any delay caused by the notion or pretence of a treaty, will cast a damp on the spirits of people who are now raised with the mighty expectation of your advance, and are so far from having any thoughts of settling things by an accommodation, that they only fix upon hopes of remedy by the total change of persons ; judging it the greatest folly to graft any thing upon the old stock ; taught by too sad experience that the difference of religion makes it irreconcilable to trust though but the name of power with it ; for all limitations of power are but notions that may be raised to interrupt or hinder that blessing to us all, which nothing but mistakes of such a nature can now prevent ; and, therefore, as your Highness has come to redeem us from the threatening miseries of Popery and slavery, we can never suffer the name or trust of power in any other person.

I doubt not but your Highness has in your clearer judgment discerned all this, and perhaps you have received accounts of the same nature from other hands ; yet I, and those friends I advise with, thought we could not discharge our duties to your Highness, and this great cause, in which we are all so deeply concerned, without our humble representation of this to you, which, if it be agreeable to your sense, we doubt not but your Highness will prevent all designs that may give the least delay or interruption to your proceedings ; for all things are in such a posture here to receive you, that we have reason to suppose that you will find little opposition from force, and therefore all other
artifices

artifices will be attempted, which we doubt not but your great judgment and prudence will prevent.

The city keep themselves prudently quiet, but are very well inclined, and resolved upon your approach to appear in your assistance, which I receive now from a considerable person of it, who also believes, that if I can get released by that time of this fit of the gout, that has now held me this three weeks, I may probably be of some use to them.

Your Highness will have an account of the Duke of Norfolk's appearing very considerable in that country.

Lastly, give me leave to present to your Highness the person I send this by, Mr. Richard Ophile, he is my wife's brother that died; at present a cornet of horse in the King's army, who has been ready to embrace any occasion that I should direct him in to serve your Highness. I have so good an opinion of him in all respects, that I used him in this business; and humbly desire your Highness to believe, that in any thing you command him he will not deceive your expectation."

There are also in the box letters from the Lords De-la-mer, Stamford, and Brandon (three persons whose lives had been called in question by the King), making apologies to the Prince for their want of speed in joining him: Offences which, however, he never afterwards fully forgave.

Lord Montagu to King William.—Asks a Dukedom.—Enumerates his services in the question of the Regency.—In King William's box.

S I R,

London, May the 18th, 1694.

"I DID not think it very good manners to trouble your Majesty in the middle of so great affairs as you had at your going away, else I should have made it my humble request

request that you would have been so gracious as to have done my family the same honour you have done to my Lord Clare, Bedford, and others. This request had been made to you by the old Duke of Schomberg, who thought himself under some obligation to me for the encouragement I gave him to attend you in your expedition into England, but that I did not think it reasonable to ask the being put over the Duke of Shrewsbury's head; but now, Sir, that you have given him that rank, which the greatness of his family and personal merit has deserved, I may, by your Majesty's grace and favour, pretend to the same dignity as well as any of the families you have promoted, being myself the head of a family that many ages ago had great honours and dignities, when I am sure these had none; and we having lost them by the civil wars between York and Lancaster, I am now below the two younger branches, my Lord Manchester and Sandwich. I have to add to my pretension the having married the Duke of Newcastle's eldest daughter; and it has been the practice of all your predecessors, whenever they were so gracious to keep up the honour of a family by the female line, to bestow it upon those who married the eldest, without there were some personal prejudice to the person who had that claim. I may add, Sir, another pretension, which is the same for which you have given a Dukedom to the Bedford family; the having been one of the first, and held out till the last, in that cause which, for the happiness of England, brought you to the crown. I hope it will not be thought a less merit to be alive and ready on all occasions to venture all again for your service, than if I had lost my head when my Lord Russel did. I could not then have had the opportunity of doing the nation the service I did, when there was such opposition made by the Jacobite party, in bringing my Lord Huntington, the bishop of Durham, and my Lord Ashley, to vote against

the Regency, and for your having the crown; which was carried but by those three voices and my own. I should not put you in mind of this, but hoping that so fortunate and so seasonable a service as this, may supply all my other wants of merit; and which, since you were pleased to promise me in your bed-chamber at St. James's, before you were King, never to forget, you will not now that are so great and so gracious a one. The Duke of Shrewsbury can further satisfy you what persecution I suffered, and what losses I sustained in the two last reigns, which must make the mortification greater if his humble suit be refused to," &c.

This letter is singular in several respects: First, It supposes that Lord Ruffel's conspiracy had been agreeable to the Prince of Orange. Secondly, it insinuates that Lord Mountagu had been a party to it, whereas it is certain he was not. I found, in Barillon's correspondence, that infinite pains were taken in England to fix his accession to that conspiracy upon him, but in vain. But it must be doubly curious to those who, in this Appendix, have seen the intrigues of Montagu with the French court in the reign of Charles the 2^d. King William refused the request of this letter.

Barillon's remaining dispatches, after the Prince of Orange's landing, contain the following anecdotes.

His letter of 25th November, 1688, mentions a force of French troops being ready at Dunkirk and Calais to sail for England.

His letter of 1st December, relates that Lord Melfort had pressed James to seize all the principal persons of the whig party, as soon as the Prince of Orange had landed.

Letter of 11th December, expresses King James's astonishment at the desertion of Douglas's Scotch regiment, because, of all his regiments, he trusted it the most.

In this letter, and that of 27th December, Barillon says James had ordered Jefferies to reside in the palace, in order that the Great Seal might be at hand to be carried off; and that James believed the loss, of the Great Seal could not be repaired, and that the constitution must fall loose by his disappearance.

Letter of 13th December, describes the various and contradictory advices with which King James was tormented from all quarters.

Letter of 22d December, describes the indignation of the English common soldiers upon hearing Lord Feverham's order for disbanding them read.

Letter of 24th December, relates that when King James was discovered by the fishermen in his first flight, one of them knelt and wept; that upon this James wept, and the other fishermen who had behaved ill to him before, at the sight of his tears, fell upon their knees; and that at Feversham the common people behaved to him with far more respect than those of better condition; for which Barillon assigns this reason, that these last were afraid of the Prince of Orange.

Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's History, contains the following anecdotes of the time in question.

Extract 1st, from Lord Dartmouth's notes.

Note on p. 790. of Bishop Burnet's History. "The Duke of Shrewsbury told me, the Prince was much surprised at his backwardness in joining with him, and began to suspect he was betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; in which case he resolved to publish the

names of all those that had invited him over, which he said would be a just return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice. Lord Shrewsbury told him he believed the great difficulty amongst them was, who should run the hazard of being the first, but if the ice were once broke, they would be as much afraid of being the last; which proved very true."

Extract 2d.

Note on p. 819. "There was a great meeting at the Earl of Devonshire's, where the dispute ran very high between Lord Halifax and Lord Danby; one for the Prince, the other for the Princess: At last Lord Halifax said, he thought it would be very proper to know the Prince's own sentiments, and desired Fagel would speak, who defended himself a great while, by saying he knew nothing of his mind upon that subject, but if they would know his own, he believed the Prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman usher; upon which Lord Danby said, he hoped they all knew enough now, for his part he knew too much, and broke up the assembly, as Sir Michael Wharton who was present told me."

Extract 3d.

Note on p. 808. "The Duke of Leeds told me, that Lord Tyrconell sent several messages to King William, that he was ready to deliver up Ireland, if he would but give him a decent excuse, by sending any thing that looked like a force to demand it: But Lord Halifax told him, that if Ireland was quiet, there would be no pretence for keeping up an army: And if there was none, he would be turned out, as easily as he had been brought in; for it was impossible to please England long, and he might see they began to be discontented already."

B O O K VII.

THE Prince calls together the Members of Charles the Second's two last Parliaments.—Proceedings of the Peers.—Of the Meeting of Commons.—Of the Scotch in London.—State of Men's Minds before the Convention meets.—The Prince's Behaviour and Letter to the Convention.—State of Parties among the Commons.—Commons pass the Vote of Abdication.—State of Parties in the House of Lords, and Intrigues there.—Proceedings of the House of Lords, on the 1st, 2d, and 3d Days of their Debates.—The Houses differ.—Effects of this Difference in the Nation.—Conference between the Houses.—The Prince opens his Sentiments.—The Houses agree.—The Settlement of the Government, and Claim of Rights.—Arrival of the Princess, and her Behaviour.—Tender of the Crown, and Reflections upon it.

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1688.

THE King's second flight did not make those violent impressions upon the minds of his subjects, which the first had done. The spirits of men, harassed and exhausted with suspense and perplexity, sunk into a momentary insensibility, wished for repose, and hoped to find it, for a time at least, in the disappearance of the King. His fall produced a calm, and a relief from anxiety, not pity for him, not indignation against him; the weakness of his behaviour having stifled those passions equally in the breasts of his friends and his foes.

State of
men's minds
upon the
King's se-
cond flight,

The

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The Prince
calls toge-
ther the
members of
Charles II.'s
parliament.

The Prince's situation was now become delicate. In his manifesto he had declared, that the calling of a free parliament was the chief end of his expedition. But, to assemble a parliament upon the writs which had been issued by the King, was to acknowledge his authority; and to call it by his own authority, without any other, might have the appearance of usurpation. The Prince's good sense, which always served him most when he stood most in need of it, extricated him from this difficulty: There was already a house of peers in action; and, in order to supply the form of a house of commons, he, the same day that news arrived of the King's flight from Rochester, summoned those who had been members of any of the parliaments of Charles II. together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, to meet him, three days after, at St. James's.

Dec. 23.

Proceedings
of the peers.

In this interval, the peers assembled the day after the King's flight, in the house of Lords, where the strain of their debates corresponded to the perturbation of their minds*. It was proposed by some Lords, in the interest of James, to begin with reading the Prince of Orange's declaration: But this, as a restraint upon his future prospects, was over-ruled. Other Lords, in the same interest, begged that the King's paper of apology for his flight, which was then in the possession of Lord Middleton, secretary of state, might be read, as the last words of their sovereign, before he was compelled to leave his kingdoms: But, upon the assurance of Lord Godolphin, that it contained nothing which could give satisfaction to the house, they dropped their intreaties; falsely imagining that that Lord was in the same interest with themselves. Lord Paget maintained, that the King's retreat was a demise in law; and moved that the Princess of Orange might be declared Queen. He was seconded by the

* Clarendon's Diary, 24th December,

bishop of London. But this motion was disagreeable to the whigs, because, by making no provisions for the security of liberty, it hastened matters too much; and to the Prince, because it preferred his consort to himself. With a view to draw the attention upon an object which might exclude the pretensions both of the Prince and Princess of Orange, Lord Clarendon pressed for an enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales; but was interrupted by Lord Wharton, who said, "He wondered to hear any body mention that child who was once called the Prince of Wales." Some Lords, attentive to the ancient forms of government, advised, that those members of the commons, who were already returned upon the writs which had been issued, should meet at the time specified in the writs, and give orders for proceeding in the other elections: But their advice was slighted by both parties; by the King's enemies, lest a parliament assembled upon his writs might seem to act under his authority; and by his friends, because they did not chuse to have a parliament assembled at all in the present disposition of things. At length, the assembly resolved upon an address to the Prince, which contained two important articles: The one, that he should, in his own name, call a convention of the states, to meet on the 22d of January; the other, that, in the mean time, he should take upon him the administration of all public affairs. To these requests a third was added: "That the prince would shew the most particular attention to the condition of Ireland:" A country which had been long the object of fear and jealousy to the English. This addition was opposed by the Prince's friends*: A circumstance of which little notice was taken at the time, but which was afterwards retorted on the Prince himself. The address was signed by the whole house, many of whom had been members of the old court and

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1688.

They address the Prince to take administration, and to call a convention.

* Duke of Buckingham's Works.

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BOOK VII.

1688.

Proceedings
of the mem-
bers of
Charles II.'s
parliaments.

council. But, while the greatest number joined in it, from a conviction that the measure was necessary, some were influenced by example, and others by a notion * that the best way to serve their old master, was to avoid making their zeal for his service conspicuous.

The Prince, who thought it a popular measure to delay the acceptance of power from the nobles, until power was likewise offered by the people, made answer to the Lords, "That he would consider of their address." Immediately after, he convened the assembly of commons, and asked their advice, "How to pursue the ends of his declaration in calling a free parliament?" This assembly, imitating the example which the other had set them, retired to the house of commons, chose Mr. Powle for their speaker, and repeated, in an address to the Prince, the requests which had been made by the peers. But, notwithstanding all this attention to popularity, it was thought by many, that, by avoiding to call the members of the late parliament to this assembly, he had discovered a jealousy of part of the nation, which was neither decent nor merited †. Even in the Prince's manner of accepting the administration, those who narrowly observed his words and looks thought they discovered either pride or reserve. He did not return thanks to the lords and commons, in his answer to their address; and the expressions he made use of seemed to indicate the disposition of one who conferred, rather than of one who received a favour.

Quiet state
of the na-
tion.

These affairs were all transacted in the course of a few days, and during the appearance of the most perfect calm. The Prince immediately exercised every act of government; summoned the convention to meet; ordered all placemen to resume their functions; rectified disorders in

* Duke of Buckingham's Works, vol. 2. p. 94.

† The Duke of Monmouth's Letter to Spense, formerly quoted in Part I. Book 2. shows that the Prince of Orange had no reason to be afraid of that house of commons which had sat under James II.

the revenue; restrained, by a proclamation, the abuse of the press upon political subjects; ordered Barillon, the French ambassador, to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and removed the English guards, and the rest of the King's troops, twenty miles from London. He also new-modelled the army, by dismissing some officers, and breaking some corps, and charged Lord Churchill with the execution of both. Of the corps which were broke, the one most talked of was Lord Dover's troop of life-guards; because the Prince's own troop of Dutch guards was put in its place. With a view to give the city an interest in his success, he borrowed from it 200,000*l*. All his orders were obeyed, as if he had been already King of England.

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When the news arrived in Scotland of James's flight from London, most men of any rank hastened to that city; some to plead their sufferings, others their services; some to make apologies for what they had done, and others for what they neglected to do. All were received with attention: But the hurry of public business freed the Prince from the inconveniency of particular explanations, and from the awkward situation of pretending to listen to boasts and complaints, upon subjects in most of which he was but little interested. His attention to all filled individuals with expectations: His silence upon business, being general, galled none with disappointments: Almost every man who had gone to London resolved to merit that favour which, in imagination, he possessed.

The Prince's
behaviour to
the Scotch
in London.

While the minds of the Scotch were in this disposition, the Prince, upon the 7th of January, assembled all the peers and considerable gentlemen of Scotland who were in London at the time, and asked their advice, "how their religion and liberties might be saved." They withdrew to Whitehall to the number of about 30 peers, and 80 gentlemen; and, having chosen the Duke of Hamil-

Assembly of
Scotch at
London, and
Lord Ar-
rian's mo-
tion.

ton president of the meeting, they drew up an address to the Prince, in a similar strain with those of the two English assemblies: They intreated him to take upon him the administration of Scotland, until a convention of the estates, to be summoned by him, should upon the 16th of March be assembled. In this procedure, because there was more seeming unanimity, there was less sincerity than in that of the English assemblies: Several members were under previous engagements to counteract the ends * of the address in which they concurred. But one man alone had the spirit to speak out their sentiments and his own: The Earl of Arran, eldest son of the president of the assembly, delivered his opinion in these words: " I respect the Prince
 " of Orange as much as any man here does. I think
 " him a brave Prince, and that we all lie under great
 " obligations to him for delivering us from popery. But,
 " while I bestow these just praises upon him, I cannot
 " violate my duty to the King, my master. I must distinguish
 " between his popery and his person: I dislike
 " the one; but have sworn and do owe allegiance to the
 " other. This makes it impossible for me to concur in
 " an address, which gives the administration of his kingdom
 " to another. We are Scottish not English men.
 " The King's grandfather and father did not abdicate the
 " crown of Scotland, even by quitting their native country:
 " How then can the King do it by quitting England only?
 " The Prince asks our advice. My advice
 " is, that we should address him, to invite the King to
 " return, and call a free parliament, which may provide,
 " in a constitutional way, for the security of our property,
 " liberty, and religion. All other ways are unconstitutional.
 " By this alone the nation can avoid present
 " and prevent future discord." But this appearance of
 " an open and generous freedom was not received without

* Lord Balcarras's Memoirs,

suspicion. Men reflected, that, while the Earl of Arran had been attending the King in his barge to Rochester, the Duke of Hamilton was waiting upon the Prince of Orange to St. James's; and the conduct of both was imputed to a concert between the father and son, that, whichever of the contending parties should prevail, the house of Hamilton might still have merit to plead with the victor. The Prince of Orange was more just to the sincerity of Lord Arran, by assuring him *, that he respected men of honour, to whatever party they might be attached. Yet, amidst this liberality of sentiment, he did not lose sight of prudence; for he soon after committed Arran to the Tower, under another pretence.

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1688.

The Prince made use of another politic art with regard to the Scotch: Though the way from Scotland to London was open to all, the roads from thence to Scotland were, by his orders, stopped up. Public safety was made the pretence for this: But the real intention was to detain the Scotch nobility and gentry †, until they should kiss hands upon his elevation to the throne of England: A ceremony which, it was thought, would, in many, be a pledge of their acquiescence in his title, lay his enemies open to the suspicions of their own party, and create an impression in Scotland, and still more in England, of the unanimity of the Scotch in his favour.

Scotch detained in London, till hands kissed.

The 22d of January was now fast approaching, when the English convention was to meet, and the Prince's administration to cease. This interval was every where employed in private conversation, or in public writings, upon the proper method of settling the kingdom. Multitudes neglected their private affairs, from attention to those of the public. Even women became politicians, and filled all places, where they came, with noise and al-

State of men's minds before the convention meets.

* Crichton, 150.

† Lord Balcarras.

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tercation. Every one had his own scheme of government, and was astonished that his neighbour did not agree with him. Some heads of parties who were in London endeavoured to adjust a national plan, in which all might concur: But, while each insisted to lead, and none would consent to follow, attempts to reconciliation proved only the sources of new dissension. The eyes of Europe were turned upon the scene that was to be exhibited in so extraordinary an assembly. Nations who were lovers of liberty, and inflamed with high sentiments, looked with reverence upon the English, as the avengers of injured laws upon Kings. But those who paid respect to established customs, whatever they were, considered them as rebels to all lawful authority, and as a people given up to their own inextricable distractions.

The Prince's
behaviour
during this
period.

The Prince of Orange, who had more interest than any in what was to follow *, seemed the only person in England unconcerned, and unengaged, amid this universal ferment. He made no personal applications, and where his friends made any, they confessed they had no authority from him. He checked the officiousness of Burnet, who, in the beginning of January, proposed † that the prayers for the King should be struck out of the liturgy. He went little abroad: He was difficult of access. When access was obtained, he appeared civil, but not cordial, listened with attention, but answered not; and the few questions he asked ‡ seemed to proceed only from the common curiosity of a stranger. He even went a-hunting §, and dined at a private gentleman's house in the country, two days before the convention was to take the great question of the settlement of the nation into consideration. In the whole of his behaviour, he not only kept, but affected to shew that he kept, his inclinations,

* Sir John Reresby, p. 306.

† Clarendon, *passim*.

‡ Clarendon's Diary, January 5.

§ Clarendon, January 26.

concerning the future measures of the convention, a mystery ; either from grandeur of mind, or from the affectation of it ; or perhaps from a desire to see the character and actions of the English in their native colours ; conscious, that an assembly of commons, most of whose members had twice voted to exclude James from the throne before he enjoyed it, an assembly of peers which had even refused to read the last paper of apology which he had left behind him, an army which had abandoned him whilst he commanded it, a fleet which had followed the example of the army, a church which he had persecuted, and a people who had taken arms almost universally against him, would never think themselves safe, without combining their interests with those of the only person who, obeyed by two fleets and two armies, could secure that liberty which all loved, and that impunity which almost all thought they needed.

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The convention was opened by a letter from the Prince, in which he desired them to provide for the security of their religion, liberties, and laws. He likewise reminded them of the unsettled state of Ireland, and of the perils to which the Dutch were exposed from the want of their forces to defend their country, and pressed for a speedy relief of the one, and a suitable attention to the services of the other. He even expressed his expectations that they would assist the Dutch in the war which France had declared against them whilst he was in England. But the convention, which was more intent upon their own affairs than on those of other nations, contented themselves in their address, with requesting him to continue his administration, until they should make farther application to him, and to give particular attention to the present state of Ireland. To this address, the Prince answered coldly, “ I am glad, that what I have done has pleased you ; *and, since you have desired me to continue the ad-* The Prince's letter to the convention ; and effects it produces,

“ *ministration*

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"ministration of affairs, I am willing to accept it." But the reason of his coldness appeared in these additional words: "I must recommend to you the consideration of affairs abroad, which makes it fit for you to expedite your business, not only for making a settlement at home, but for the safety of all Europe." But the convention, instead of giving him any satisfaction with respect to foreign interests, adjourned for some days; and the commons appointed the 28th of the month, for taking into consideration the state of the nation.

State of the
whig party
of the commons.

As that part of the convention which consisted of commons had been chosen by the people, and during a popular ferment, it was composed mostly of the whig party. But, as the individuals had been separated from each other by attendance upon their elections in their different counties, they had formed no common plan of party. Every man, therefore, left to himself, followed his own course, and discovered his own temper. All readily agreed, that James should be excluded from the government: But, agreeably to the speculative and independent genius of the nation, they differed among themselves, both upon the principle, and upon the mode of execution. The republicans insisted, that James, for his misconduct, should be arraigned by a formal accusation, and deposed by a regular sentence. Some of the whig party maintained, that the King's flight was equivalent to a voluntary renunciation of the government: And others, that there was an original contract between Prince and people, by which he was obliged to observe the laws, and they to obey him no longer than he did so; and that James's breach of his part of this contract had restored his subjects to their original liberty. Both republicans and whigs, however, agreed in general, that the throne was become vacant. In the choice of the person who was still to fill the

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vacancy, some pointed at the Prince, and others at the Princess of Orange. The humourous character of the nation intruded itself into the most serious interests: For Sir Charles Sedley, whose daughter, James's mistress, had been created Countess of Dorchester by her lover, though her father had always looked upon the honour as a splendid indignity, said, "He wished to make the King's daughter a Queen, in return for his Majesty's having made his daughter a Countess*."

The Tories, on the other hand, started at the ideas of deposition and election, as breaking in upon the ancient Tory principle of the sacred nature of hereditary right. They founded upon the rule of the constitution, that the throne is never vacant, but, upon the death of one King, is instantly filled with another. But they acknowledged, that the crown was in a state of inability, as much as if James had been in a state of lunacy or non-age; and therefore they proposed, that a regent should be appointed to act during his life, as was the custom when the King was incapable of acting. Yet, to shew that they meant no favour to James by the proposal, they readily concurred with the Whigs, in a resolution of the house, that a Papist was incapable of wearing the crown of England.

And of the
Tory party
of the com-
mons.

The Prince had the mortification to perceive, that some of those who were the most attached to his cause, were the least attached to his interest. Sir Edward Seymour, who had set on foot the association at Exeter, spoke with great warmth against the vacancy of the throne, and for a settlement by a regent. And some of the Whigs pointed at laying such restrictions upon the authority of either King or Regent, as would have reduced the offices almost to empty titles.

* Granger Biog. Britan, vol. ii. p. 554.

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1688.

Commons
pass the
vote of ab-
dication,

At last the wiser part of the whigs, at the head of whom was Mr. Somers, persuaded their party to make their own sentiments of liberty bend to the nature of the constitution, and to the principles of the tories. Though the tories maintained, that Kings could not be deposed, they did not deny that they might abdicate. The whigs took advantage of this, and proposed a vote, which, without asserting a right in the convention to depose James, joined the two circumstances of his misconduct and of his flight, to infer, that he had himself abdicated the crown; and which, in compliment to the tories, left it undetermined, whether the defect arising from that abdication was to be supplied by a king or a regent. The vote was in these words: “ That King
“ James the Second having endeavoured to subvert the
“ constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original
“ contract between King and people, and having, by
“ the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, violated
“ the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of
“ the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that
“ the throne is thereby vacant.” The vote, thus complicated, passed without a division of the house.

and send it
up by Mr.
Hampden.

This great determination, one of the most memorable in the history of mankind, was the work of one day. The vote was no sooner drawn up, than the Commons sent it to the Lords for their concurrence. Mr. Hampden was the person who carried it up. The minds of all were struck with the awful dispensations of Providence, when they saw the vote for the dethronement of the King presented, in name of the people of England, to the Assembly of Peers, by a person whose life had been brought into danger both by the King and his brother, and whose grandfather was the first who shook the throne of the Stuart race.

But,

But, when the House of Lords took this resolution of the Commons into their consideration, a more regular and steady appearance of party disclosed itself. As the peers were not obliged to attend elections, most of them had continued in London since the arrival of the Prince: Hence they had both time and opportunity to concert their measures, and range their parties; and therefore, in the house of lords, the parties of tory and of whig, which, in the hour of common danger, had united against the common object of their dislike, appeared now, when that danger was over, to resume their former stations and antipathies, and threatened the nation with perplexities and danger.

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1698.

State of parties in the house of lords.

The tories were the most numerous; and, recollecting their former sufferings from the meanest of mankind in a republican cause, all of them were alarmed with the principles disclosed in the debates of the Commons: But they had not the force of a joint body, because they were divided amongst themselves.

The tory party divided between the King and his daughter.

A few of them were attached to the interest of King James. The chief of these were the bishops who had been persecuted by him, with the exception of Lloyd of St. Asaph; and to these Lord Rochester and Lord Clarendon joined themselves, partly from principle, but more because they had been slighted by the Prince of Orange*: Rochester knew, that the Prince and Princess remembered his former incivility, when, even after his disgrace, he had not, in passing to Spaw, paid them the common attention of a visit†. And Clarendon was disobliged, because the Prince, instead of presenting his old government of Ireland to his ambition, had entered into treaty with Tyrconnel. The rest of the tories favoured the interests of the Princesses, because these, on

* Clarendon's Diary, passim.

† Vide Appendix to Book V.

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BOOK VII.

1688.

Those who
favoured the
Princesses,
divided be-
twixt a re-
gent and a
queen.

Notting-
ham at the
head of
those who
are for a re-
gent. The
principles
he proceeds
upon.

A regency
supported by
three bodies
of men.

the one hand, seemed more compatible with the right of succession than the election of the Prince of Orange, and, on the other, would, if yielded to, equally prevent the return of King James.

That part of the Tories which favoured the Princesses was itself divided. One part of them adopted the idea of settling the government in a regency, and proposed to appoint the Princess of Orange regent; the other intended to place her upon the throne.

Lord Nottingham was at the head of the party which inclined to give the regency to the Princess. He inveighed, "That the Tories in the house of commons had made a false step, in giving way to the words of a vote, which, whilst it seemed to comply with their principles, had, in reality, given a triumph to those of the Whigs: That it was the doctrine of an original contract between King and people which had paved the way to the overthrow of the throne, and buried the peerage, the church, the parliament, and even the law, in its ruins: That a vacancy supposed an intermission of the monarchy: That abdication implied a cessation of the office of royalty, and consequently strengthened the supposal of a vacancy in the throne: That this vacancy could be supplied only by a new election; and one election would serve as a precedent for the repetition of others, until the constitution ended in an elective monarchy or a republic. But that, if a regent was appointed, old forms would be followed, the monarchy preserved unviolated, and the Princess of Orange, because she was the nearest relation to the crown capable of acting as regent, would have the legal title to the office."

That part of the Tories which favoured a regency was numerous by the junction of three different bodies of men: Almost all the bishops and high-church lords, being

being ashamed to retract the monarchical principles they had so long professed, wished for an opportunity of shewing, that, though they had from necessity suspended their principles of passive obedience, they would not without necessity relinquish those of indefeasible hereditary right. These men, at the same time, favoured the Princesses, because the Princesses were attached to the church; and they suspected the Prince, because he had been educated in the tenets of Calvin. Again, the private friends of James thought, that, if they could not preserve his right, it was at least gaining one point to preserve the young Prince's; that the prospect of the son's succession would keep the foes of the father in awe; and that a regency would embarrass the Prince of Orange in the execution, and make him jealous of a people, who, in return for all his services, had not only preferred his consort to himself, but had made him no more than the delegate of another's power during another's life. Many too in high life, guided by humour, or cautious in their tempers, joined a party in which their discontents or their fears might pass for principle. For, the reserve of the Prince, in avoiding to influence the measures of the convention, offended the pride of some, who thought that a crown was worth asking, and that gratitude for favours arose in proportion to the difficulties of success. But more reflected, that in their persons, estates, and honours, they ran greater risks than other men; because, in every great revolution of government, they were always the first to be punished for the offences which all had committed. And they hesitated, when they considered the open disobedience of Ireland; the disposition of Scotland not yet known; the espousal of James's interest by a monarch who had been accustomed to cause all Europe to tremble; the uncertainty of the Prince of Orange's life, from the weakly state of his health, remarked by all who ap-

ad body.

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BOOK VII.

1688.

Danby at
the head of
those who
are for a
queen. The
principles
he proceeds
upon.

proached him*; and the Dutch war with France, which they foresaw could not fail to draw his troops and his person very soon from amongst them.

That part of the tories which inclined to place the Princess of Orange upon the throne, was conducted by Lord Danby. This lord perceived, that a government by a regent supposed the administration to be in one, and the right in another; and foresaw the danger to which men would think themselves exposed, in opposing a Prince whose right was acknowledged even by the mode of government itself. In order to prevent these consequences, he supposed, that the right of James was at an end by his abdication, and of the young Prince by his illegitimacy: From thence he concluded, that the throne was not vacant, but filled with the lineal heir, the Princess of Orange; and maintained, that her elevation was so far from being a breach of the order of succession, that it was a direct continuation of it. Deep and bold in his schemes, Danby even sent over a messenger with a letter to the Princess in Holland, to assure her, that, if she would join her personal interest to his, he would place her alone upon the throne: A measure to which he was prompted, partly by ambition, and partly † by a disappointment, which he found he was to receive from the Prince, in his views upon that treasurer's staff which, in a former reign, he had carried.

He makes
proposals to
the Princess.

The whigs
of the peers
united to
make the
Prince
King.

Such were the views of the tory party. The whigs, and chiefly Lord Halifax, were earnest to place the Prince of Orange upon the throne. Yet a few of them concurred in Lord Danby's project, from a desire of shewing their reverence for the constitution, and their independence upon the Prince.

Proceedings
of the lords
The whigs
successful
the first day.

Lord Nottingham was sensible of the art of the whigs of the house of commons, in leaving the question un-

* Reresby, 324.

† Ibid. 308.

determined,

determined, whether the government should be settled in a king or a regent, while yet they had in their vote established principles which paved the way to the former mode. He foresaw, that, as the tories in the house of lords were not so united in their views or principles as the whigs, they might split in canvassing that vote, article by article: But he knew that most of them would unite in the project of a regency: And therefore he began the debate upon the vote of the commons, where the commons had stopped: For he brought on a question *, “ Whether a regency, with the administration of regal power, and the stile of King James the Second, during the life of that King, would be the best and safest way to preserve the protestant religion, and the laws of this kingdom?” Lord Rochester supported the settlement by a regency, gaining, of all others, the greatest honour in the course of these debates. After a debate which lasted until midnight, the whigs carried it for a government by a king, not a regent, by a majority of two voices; the numbers being 51 to 49: A victory owing to the accession which Lord Danby brought to the side of the whigs; and to the absence of Archbishop Sancroft, who, holding the convention to be unlawful, observed, during those times of great revolution, an unglorious neutrality; of the Lords Huntingdon, and Mulgrave, who alledged, that they could not vote either way, without putting an indignity upon their old master, to whom they had been obliged; and of Lord Churchill, under the pretence of a similar delicacy, but, in reality, because the Princess Anne would not take her own resolution, until she should know that of her sister. Lord Godolphin voted for a regency, according to the method he had long followed, of keeping measures with both parties.

* Journals of the house of lords, January 28.

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BOOK VII.

1688.

Appear-
ances doubt-
ful on the
2d day.

Next day, the lords debated the vote of the commons, article by article. The first question was, "Whether there was an original contract between prince and people, which had been broken by King James?" A philosophical question, which only in a nation of free-men and philosophers could have been made the subject of debate in a senate. But here the tory party split again. For many thought they could not justify to themselves, or to others, their late resistance, unless upon the supposition that James had first infringed his duties to them. The whigs carried the question by a majority of seven, the numbers being 53 to 46. Yet the tories carried another question: For the word *abdicated*, in the vote of the commons, was changed into *deserted*; some thinking that James had deserted his station, who could not be brought to agree that this amounted to an actual abdication.

Tories vic-
torious on
the 3d day,
and the
lords dis-
agree to the
vote of the
commons.

On the third day, which was the 30th of January, the great concluding question was taken up: "Whether King James, having broken the original contract, and deserted the government, the throne was thereby vacant?" A question, in the debating of which all the animosity of parties, and all the abilities of men inured to the greatest affairs, were exerted. During the debate, the whigs, perceiving that Lord Danby, upon his principle of the throne being already filled by the Princess, would vote against them in the question of the vacancy, proposed this question: "Whether, instead of the words in the vote of the commons, *The throne is thereby vacant*, should be inserted these words *, *The Prince and Princess of Orange be declared King and Queen?*" But, upon a previous question, "Whether this question shall be now put?" it was resolved in the negative; the numbers being 52 to 47. After this, the

* Journals house of commons, January 31.

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1668.

question being put, "Whether to agree with the commons, that the throne is vacant?" Danby and his friends voted, as had been foreseen; and it was resolved in the negative, by a majority of 14 voices; the numbers being 55 to 41. Against this resolution, 37 lords entered their dissents*; of whom the most remarkable was Lord Mulgrave, whose delicacy had in this short interval been removed.

Yet this victory of the tories brought no advantage to James: For, in the course of these debates†, the lords ordered a thanksgiving for the delivery of the nation from popery and arbitrary power, and the prayers for James to be suspended in their house‡: They concurred with the vote of the commons, that the kingdom could not be governed by a popish King§; they refused to receive a letter from James; and they gave orders, that the anniversary thanksgiving for his accession, on the ensuing 6th of February, should be discontinued.

The lords disclaim the cause of K. James;

The victory of the tories brought as little advantage to the young Prince. During the course of the debates, it having been proposed to examine into his legitimacy, the proposal was unanimously over-ruled; some drawing a veil over his pretensions, lest they should be impaired; others, lest they should be sustained; some thinking it a prudent moderation to leave room for his claim at some future period, in order to make the friends to his family keep a guard upon their actions, from the fear of disappointing that claim altogether; others of bolder spirits declaring, that a dormant title to the crown was a benefit to the subject, from the dependence in which it would always keep the Prince who possessed it; but most disliking explanations, from the delicacy of the subject and the uncertainty of events.

but preserve silence with regard to the pretensions of his son.

* Journals house of lords, January 31.

† Ibid. January 22.

‡ Ibid. Jan. 28.

§ Ibid. Feb. 2. and Clarendon's Diary, Feb. 2. and 4.

After

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1688.

Differences
between the
houses, how
received by
the nation;

After the two houses had differed concerning the vacancy of the throne, the individuals of which they were composed made their appeal for their conduct to the public. The people entered into the dispute with the usual ardour of Englishmen in what relates to the public; and in an instant the animosities of whig and tory, with more than usual bitterness, were transferred from the two houses of convention, to the streets, the public walks, the coffee-houses, and taverns, and to the inmost recesses of company and private families. In vain had the commons in their debates protested, that they meant only to apply a present remedy to a present distress. In vain did most of the peers, in private and in public, disclaim all attachment to the person of James. The tories exclaimed, "That the commons looked forward
" to futurity, and intended to make the monarchy
" elective, or to establish a republic:" And the whigs,
" That the peers wished to replace James upon the
" throne." But those who looked at consequences more than at the reciprocal complaints of parties, lamented, "That one branch of the legislature deemed
" the throne to be vacant, while the other deemed it to be
" filled; and that, although James seemed excluded by
" both as a papist, yet there was no likelihood of their
" agreeing who should take the benefit of his ex-
" clusion."

and by the
populace of
London.

The populace, always impatient, because suspense is attended with uncertainty and fear, assembled tumultuously, two days after the vote of the Lords, and presented petitions to both houses of convention to settle the Prince and Princess of Orange upon the throne. While the members were passing through the long lanes of people who were assembled in crowds at the doors of the houses of parliament, they were loaded with imprecations or with blessings, according as they were thought to stand affected.

But the Prince, scorning to receive power from such ignoble hands, issued a proclamation, and stopped the disorderly proceeding.

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BOOK VII.

1688.

Conference
between the
houses.

The day after this tumult, the lords sent their amendments to the commons. The commons, upon a division of 182 to 151, adhered to the terms of their resolution, and sent up their reasons to the lords, for not complying with their amendments. The lords continued firm, and combated these with counter-reasons, in which they did not forget to declare * “ their willingness to secure the “ nation against the return of King James ;” and sent their own reasons to the commons. A second conference ensued on the 5th of February. In the course of this altercation, the heats of temper entered into the heats of party : Obstinacy grew from opposition : And a free conference between the houses was therefore resolved upon, as the only resource that remained to prevent a rupture.

This free conference was held next day, the 6th of February. But, as the managers appointed for the conference were chiefly the most violent of the whigs among the commons, and of the tories among the lords ; and as the one side intended to raise the Prince of Orange to the throne, either alone, to display the power of the people, or jointly with the Princess, to destroy the rights of her father’s family, by seeming to respect them ; and the other, to place the Princess alone upon it, either as regent, to preserve the rights of her father’s family, or as Queen, to prevent them from being altogether cancelled ; but both, without shewing what their real intentions were ; the arguments made use of in the conference were obscure and affected. The true causes of difference were kept from the sight, and false ones hung out in their places. Men, who met on such terms, to convince, not to be

* Journ. H. of Lords, Feb. 5.

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1688.

The Prince declares his sentiments, and threatens to leave England.

convinced, to impose, not to enlighten, could not easily persuade each other, or their audience. The conference therefore promised to the public only a continuance of those dissensions which it was intended to remove.

During these debates, the Prince of Orange had felt all the agonies which can be supposed to arise, either from disappointed ambition, or from the sense of services ill requited *. The silence which he had resolved to observe, added, as happens in all great passions, to his pain. He kept the Princess in Holland, on purpose to prevent intrigues for her interest. At first he formed the expectation of being placed alone upon the throne, and endeavoured to bring this about by the secret intrigues of Bentinck. But two instances of the boldness of English spirit checked him. For, Bentinck having urged the design, at a consultation of the Prince's party, which was held in the lodgings of Mr. William Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert, who was then confined with the gout; Herbert started from his bed, and declared that if he had foreseen such a design, he would never have drawn a sword for the Prince. And at a great meeting of party, Fagel having been pressed to make known the Prince's mind, and having excused himself, but added, that if his own opinion was asked, he would say it was, "that the Prince "would not like to be his wife's Gentleman Usher:" Danby, in a passion, broke up the assembly, saying, "he "hoped they all knew enough *now*, and that for his part "he knew *too much* †." At last, letters arrived from the Princess: For, pleased to have an opportunity of shewing how little she merited the precautions which the Prince had taken against her, she wrote an answer to Danby's letter, in which she expressed her resentment against his attempt to divide her interest from her husband's; and

* Duke of Buckingham.

† Vid. Appendix to Part 1. Book 6. No. 2.

sent his letter, together with her own, to the Prince. Upon receiving these letters, the Prince, tired out with the procrastination of the English, and alarmed to find their divisions endeavoured to be thrown into his own family, thought it was full time to interpose, and to suspend the rage of parties by the only thing which could do it, the terror of his leaving a divided nation to the settlement of their own differences, and to the mercy of a Sovereign whom they had offended. Having therefore convened Danby, Halifax, Shrewsbury, and a few others of most eminence, he said, “ He had not hitherto interfered
 “ in their debates, lest he might have appeared to inter-
 “ rupt their freedom. But he must now speak out. Some,
 “ he heard, proposed to settle the government in the hands
 “ of a regent, during the King’s life. He had no ob-
 “ jection : It might be a wise project : But if he was the
 “ person intended for the office, he thought proper to let
 “ them know, he would accept of no dignity dependent
 “ upon the life of another. Others, he understood, pro-
 “ posed to settle the Princess alone on the throne, and
 “ admit him to a participation of power through her
 “ courtesy. Her rights he would not oppose : Her vir-
 “ tues he respected : No one knew them better than he
 “ did : Crowns to others had charms : To him they had
 “ none : But he thought it proper also to let them know,
 “ that he would hold no power dependent upon the will
 “ of a woman. Therefore, if either of these schemes
 “ were adopted, he could give them no assistance in the
 “ settlement of the nation ; but would return to his own
 “ country, happy in the consciousness of the services he
 “ had endeavoured, though in vain, to do to theirs.”

This declaration had the effect which the Prince in-
 tended. All wise men saw there was no medium in the
 present state of things, between placing him upon the
 throne, and recalling the King to it. Every considera-

The lords
 agree with
 the com-
 mons, and
 causes of the
 agreement.

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1688.

tion of safety and of prudence opposed the latter measure. Necessity called for the former. In this dilemma, the free and daring spirit of the English determined the balance in favour of the Prince of Orange: For, in matters of government, men are influenced by their feelings, more than by their opinions. Other causes contributed to the Prince's success. The sacrifice which the Princess had made to her husband cooled the church-party in her interest. The Princess of Denmark, after wavering much, even contradicting herself sometimes *, and keeping those long in suspense who respected her rights, or were attached to her fortunes, had, at last, upon the promise of an ample revenue to support her dignity, consented to be postponed to the Prince in the settlement of the crown: A surrender made from an affectation of not appearing too anxious to possess her father's throne, but in reality, from the persuasion of Lady Churchill †, one of the most interested of women, who possessed, at that time, the dominion of her spirit, and who hoped to serve her own interest and her husband's ‡, by betraying those of her mistress. The arts which are by all governments made use of, and by all disclaimed, to influence individuals by their hopes or their fears §, were also put in practice: Lord Montagu, beyond others, displaying that spirit of intrigue, which, in a former reign, had been so fatal to Lord Danby, the Duke of York, and Charles II. ||. Hence, some agreed to come over to the Prince's party, among whom were Lord Huntington, and James's nephews, the Dukes of Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland; and others, to be absent at the vote, among whom was Lord Godolphin, who pretended he had business with the Prince at the treasury. Crew, the obnoxious bishop of Durham ¶, who,

* Clarendon, Feb. 5. March 12. Reresby, 314:

† Dutches of Marlborough's Conduct, and Clarendon's Diary, passim:

‡ Duke of Buckingham.

§ Clarendon, Feb. 6, and passim.

|| Vide his letter to King William, in Appendix.

¶ Burnet, vol. 2. p. 822. Clarendon's Diary.

when appointed one of the ecclesiastical commission by James, had said he rejoiced at it, because it would make his name famous in history, and who was lurking on the sea-coast for a vessel to secure him of impunity in France, hearing there was now an opportunity to cancel the remembrance of past offences in present services, returned to London, to give his vote for that cause of liberty which he had insulted, and against that Prince who had raised him.

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1688.

From these various causes, the apprehensions which had been raised in the public by the keen, and still more by the obscure management of the free conference between the two houses, were removed, when the peers, after the conference was finished, returned to their own house, and debated the subject of the conference. For they resolved to depart from their amendments, and to concur in the vote of the commons, by a majority of fifteen voices; the numbers being 62 to 47; and Lord Danby leading the way to contend for the necessity of acknowledging that vacancy which he had formerly denied. They next debated how the vacancy of the throne should be filled. Lord Halifax moved, that the Prince should reign alone: One Lord only followed him in this affectation of complaisance. But Lord Danby moved, "That the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen." As men naturally favour the prosperous, the Prince's friends gained an accession of strength upon this motion, and it was agreed to by a majority of 20 voices, the numbers being 65 to 45.

Lords resolve to fill the throne with the Prince and Princess;

The peers instantly proceeded to adjust the oath of allegiance. The common form of it had been to swear allegiance to the King, as *rightful and lawful King*. It was objected by the tories that these words imported a precedent title in the Sovereign, but could not apply to the Prince, whose only title was the voice of the people.

and fix the oath of allegiance.

The

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1688.

The whigs, who aimed at things, not at words, agreed that the oath should be in general, to bear true allegiance to King William and Queen Mary: A fatal concession which confounded the distinction between the friends and foes to government, by pointing out to those in the interest of James, the distinction between a King *de facto* and a King *de jure*, and leading them to think they were justified in swearing allegiance to one Prince, at the time they maintained that the right to his crown was in another, and that they were obliged to defend that right, whenever he should be in a capacity to assert it himself. Lord Nottingham, who had declared, that though he could not make a King, yet he would obey the King that was made, and who believed that the subjects would refuse to take the ancient oath of allegiance*, was the person who made the motion for the new oaths: Clarendon's† was the ominous hand which drew them.

Reflections
of the po-
pulace.

When the news of these votes had spread abroad, even those who attended to the causes of things wondered at the instability of a government, which could pass from the appearance of discord between the houses at their conference in the morning, into their union by these votes of the lords in the afternoon. But the populace struck, and, according to their nature, perhaps pleased with the instability of human grandeur, reminded each other, how the crown had tottered upon the King's head at his coronation; pointed to the statue of James at Whitehall, which was placed with its back to the palace, and its face to the river; and remarked, that the day on which his throne was declared vacant, and the oaths of allegiance fixed to his successor, was the anniversary of his accession.

* Clarendon's Diary, Feb. 5. Reresby, 326.

† Journals of the house of lords, Feb. 7.

Next day, the lords resolved, notwithstanding the joint sovereignty of the Prince and Princess, "that the full regal power should be in the Prince alone in the name of both:" An expedient which, in appearance, paid respect to the rights of the Princess and to the principles of the nation, and averted from her husband the odium of reigning alone; while, in reality, it conferred the exclusive sovereignty upon him. They resolved further, "That upon the decease of the Prince and Princess, the crown should belong to the heirs of the body of the Princess; and, in default of such issue, to the Princess Anne, and the heirs of her body; and, in default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the Prince of Orange; and, in default of such issue, to the person that should be named in such manner as should be limited and regulated by act of parliament; and, in default of such limitation, to the heirs of the Prince of Orange."

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Lords put
the exercise
of govern-
ment in the
King alone.

These resolutions, as soon as framed, were sent to the commons for their concurrence. But the commons, who had taken only one day to declare the throne vacant, now delayed during six days to concur with the lords in the settlement of the crown, until a declaration of the rights of the subjects, upon the chief articles in dispute between the King and the people, should be adjusted, being determined to make concessions to liberty the condition of the transfer of the crown. In settling the terms of this security, many disputes arose among the members of both houses, and between the houses themselves; disputes in which, for the most part, the difference of opinion only shewed the union of sentiment; the sentiment of freedom, and of the just jealousy of its interests in freemen. The declaration of rights maintained, "That the suspending and dispensing powers, as exercised by King James; all courts of ecclesiastical commission; " the

Commons
delay till
declaration
of rights be
adjusted.

Articles of
the declara-
tion of
rights,

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“ the levying of money, or maintaining standing forces
“ in time of peace, without consent of parliament;
“ grants of fines and forfeitures before conviction; and
“ juries of persons not qualified, or not fairly chosen,
“ and who in trials of treason were not freeholders;
“ were unlawful. It asserted the freedom of election to
“ parliament, the freedom of speech in parliament, and
“ the right of the subject to bear arms, and to petition
“ his sovereign.” Pitying and respecting human nature,
it provided, “ That excessive bails should not be re-
“ quired, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and un-
“ usual punishments inflicted.” And it concluded with
the great security of English liberty, “ That parliaments
“ should be frequently assembled.”

One thing very remarkable in the declaration of rights, is, that it condemns not the suspending and dispensing powers, but only those powers as exercised by King James. From this the tories inferred the truth of their principles, with regard to those powers: But, as this was afterwards altered, in the act which converted the declaration into a law, the victory remained with the whigs.

Reflections
of the na-
tion upon
the declara-
tion.

After this declaration was approved by both houses, numbers exclaimed, “ At this great æra, the power of
“ the crown should have been circumscribed, the liberty
“ of the subject defined, and both combined into a system,
“ which would have made the English constitution un-
“ changeable and immortal. But, instead of this, the
“ declaration did not extend to a sufficient variety of
“ objects: It was not sufficiently explicit upon those
“ which it reached: In the last great article of all, the
“ words, *frequent parliaments*, left the intervals of their
“ assembling, and the duration of their sitting, as un-
“ determinate as ever.”

But

But those of wiser minds observed, “ That the revolution having been brought about by a coalition of whigs and tories, the former were obliged to make concessions to the latter, and to be contented with the concessions which they could get from them in their turn. That political wisdom is founded more upon experience than theory; and that all the improvements of the English constitution have arisen from applying remedies to evils that were felt, not to those which men thought they foresaw. That its duration has been owing to the constant vibration between the attempts of the executive and legislative powers upon each other, which fixes the attention of the citizens upon the public, as if they were guards set on watch, and keeps both powers in reciprocal awe of each other; and that the first calm of unanimity in Great Britain will be the last sigh of expiring freedom. That a King, who can raise neither money nor forces without consent of parliament, is under a continual necessity of resorting to it. And that, when the declaration of rights, with all its imperfections, was joined to those constitutional articles which had been already established, the whole records of mankind presented not a system of freedom so complete and so happy.”

The whigs of the house of commons, in the zenith of their power, after the vacancy of the throne was declared by both houses, gave still another proof of their moderation, and of their respect for the principles of the tories. They so far altered the resolution of the lords, as to strike off that part of it, which, in default of the Princess of Denmark’s issue, put the nomination of the succession in the hands of parliament, and in default of such nomination, bestowed the crown on the heirs of the Prince of Orange: An alteration agreeable likewise to

Alterations
made upon
the order of
succession.

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1688.

The arrival
of the Prin-
cess, and her
behaviour.

the Prince; partly because it gave him an opportunity, through the uncertainty of the succession, to flatter whom he pleased with the hopes of it; and partly because it removed the odium which attended the bringing his collateral heirs at all into view.

The tender of the crown, and the declaration of the liberties of the subject, were thrown into one instrument of government. The same day upon which this instrument passed the convention, the Princess of Orange arrived from Holland. The singularity of her situation made her behaviour attended to when she entered the palace. In the confusion of her spirits, she betrayed a womanish levity*, of which the friends of the present and those of the late King equally took advantage; the former, to justify the conduct of those who had given the exclusive administration to her husband; the latter, to draw pity to a prince who had a daughter seemingly so unnatural. She shewed severities† also to her uncles Clarendon and Rochester, expressing that sense of injuries, which their new master either felt not, or suppressed; and thus manifested in all things, that she made the duties of the daughter and the niece yield to those of the wife.

Tender of
the crown,
and differ-
ent reflec-
tions upon
it.

The day after her arrival, the two houses went in state, to make a free gift of the crown to the Prince and Princess. They began by reading aloud the instrument of government, in order to intimate to the Sovereigns who received it, the conditions upon which it was given. Lord Halifax made the tender of the crown. The Prince and Princess were instantly proclaimed; and, to augment the splendour of the ceremony, both houses attended the proclamation. Those persons, who considered that the ultimate end of government is the safety

* Dutchess of Marlborough.

† Clarendon's Diary, *passim*.

of the people, and that the miseries of one ought not to be put in competition with the happiness of millions, rejoiced: But those who thought that the fates of Princes are the objects of humanity, as well as the fates of their subjects, grieved to see the Princess receive the crown in the hall of that palace from which her father had been driven; and at the gate of which her grandfather had, by some of those who now placed the crown on her head, and by the fathers of others, been brought to the block. Men of philosophical spirits foresaw, that, as both impressions were those of nature, posterity would feel the effects of them, when the millions who now rejoiced or lamented would be laid in the dust.

PART I.
BOOK VII.

1688.

B O O K V I I I.

MUTINY of the Scottish Regiments in England.—
Heads and State of Parties in Scotland.—Vigorous
Measures of the Scottish Convention.—Lord Dundee's
Attempts to disturb it disappointed.—Forfeiture of
James.—Settlement of the Crown, and Claim of
Rights.—Panic of a Massacre in Ireland.—Revolt
of Londonderry.—William's Neglect of Ireland.—
State of Ireland.

PART I
 BOOK VII

1689.

AFTER the Prince of Orange had got possession of the government of England; Scotland and Ireland remained still to be settled. But whilst he was preparing to obtain possession of these kingdoms likewise, he was surprised with a defection in the army, which alarmed him the more, because he recollected that similar incidents had been the forerunners of the ruin of the late King. Notwithstanding the reform which William had made in the troops, he knew there were still some English corps disaffected to his service; and of the Scotch, in particular the royal regiment of dragoons, known at present by the name of the Scotch Greys, and Lord Dumbarton's regiment of foot, now the Royal Scotch. The last of these had been the favourite regiment of the late King, because it was both daring and obedient; and the officers and soldiers were at this time disgusted, because Lord Dumbarton had been dismissed from the command of it,
 and

Mutiny of
 Scottish re-
 giments in
 England.

ART I.
BOOK VIII.

1689.

and Marshal Schomberg put in his room. William, therefore, resolved to send over the disaffected corps of both nations to Holland, in order to replace some of the Dutch troops, which, as more to be depended upon, he intended to keep with him in England. The regiments which were to be sent off, either hearing the intention, or from the consciousness of their own affections, suspecting the King's*, began to form a train of communication with each other, for assembling, and retiring northwards among the papists in the north of England, and to Scotland, whose parliament had not as yet declared for the new government. The emissaries of the late King, and still more their own discontents, insinuated to the English part of the mutineers, "That they, who were the only remains of the army who had continued faithful to their Sovereign, were now to be punished for that fidelity which is the chief point of honour among soldiers. The late King had indeed brought some of his own religion into his army; but he had not banished the native troops of England from their own country, and much less placed foreign ones in their stead to command that country with a foreign force." But the two Scotch regiments stormed aloud, "They were part of a free people, independent of the government of England and of its laws. Their national assembly had not as yet renounced allegiance to King James. By the laws of nations, they were not subject to the orders of any King, but of one acknowledged in Scotland, the King of their country. Their ancestors had transmitted the independence of their kingdom safe to them. It was their duty to convey it inviolated to posterity. They had arms, the marks and honours of

* Reresby, 337. Journ. h. lords, March 15.

" freemen,

“ freemen, in their hands: And, while they had these, to
 “ submit to suffer transportation like felons, was unworthy
 “ their own character, or that of their nation.” With
 such discourses the soldiers and many of the officers having,
 during several days, animated each other; the soldiers
 at last called to their officers, “ To lead them on, to
 “ advance the colours, and not to wait for the junction
 “ of their English friends; men flow in resolution;
 “ though brave against real, yet impotent from their
 “ continual fear of imaginary dangers; who, impatient
 “ of bearing hunger and long marches, could only serve
 “ to consume their provisions and retard their speed;
 “ who, amid their cups and feasts, would promise every
 “ thing, but, when called to the field in their Sove-
 “ reign’s cause, would perform nothing.”

No interval of time was to be perceived between ex- March 12.
 horting, resolving, executing. All in an instant are in
 motion. While part are preparing for their march,
 others had already begun it: Some by orders, some
 without, and some in spite of them. They disarmed the
 few officers who opposed the sentiments of the rest.
 They seized the money provided for the pay of the regi-
 ments; and, with drums beating, colours flying, and
 four pieces of cannon, marched off from Ipswich, the
 intended place of their embarkation, to traverse one half
 of England peaceably, if they were not opposed, by
 force, if they were. The panic which they raised where-
 ever they came, and much more where they did not
 come, exhibited an example which England has often
 seen, but never believes, until the moment she sees it
 again, how weak against an attack in her own country
 is the wealthiest of nations, when her subjects believe
 that they have an interest against a standing army, and
 her Sovereigns are made to believe that they have an in-
 terest against a national militia. William instantly com-

municated

PART I.
BOOK VIII.

1689.

The King
informs the
parliament
of it.The regi-
ments sur-
render.

municated this event to both houses of the legislature, informing them, that there were 1500 men in arms, with money to subsist them*. Both houses, in addresses, termed the mutiny a rebellion, and advised the King to issue a proclamation against the fugitives as traitors†. The house of commons gave leave to all their members, who were officers of the army, to repair to their stations; and, the same day on which they received the King's message, they hastened to vote the Dutch bill of charges in the cause of the revolution. The King dispatched General Ginkle‡, with three regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of horse, to pursue the mutineers, and issued orders for the counties to obstruct and harass their march. The Scotch, upon intelligence of these things, took their way through the isle of Ely, with a view, in a fenny country, to avoid the attacks of cavalry. But, in their passage, they found the bridges and roads broken up, the trees felled across the highways, and the provisions of the country removed. Ginkle hung upon their rear. The militia prepared to oppose them in front. They learned, that their confederates in England, instead of imitating their example, were in motion to defend that cause which they had engaged to destroy. The common men began to lose their spirits: The officers, who believed that, in the punishment of a general mutiny, they would be selected to suffer for the faults which all had committed, insisted that the whole body should die with their arms in their hands. The common men hesitated for some time upon the proposal; but, at last, inferring impunity from their obscurity, they refused to

* Journals of the house of commons, March 15th.

† The danger swelled in the imaginations of the peers; for in their address they informed the King, "That other soldiers, and traitorous persons, were in conspiracy with the Scotch regiments."

‡ Journals of the house of commons, March 16th.

make use of an unavailing despair, and threw down their arms: All then surrendered at discretion. The King, in private, respected the spirit, and pardoned* the prejudices of the regiments, though he exclaimed in public against both. He removed a few of the officers, and inflicted no further punishment upon the regiments, than to take from them the power of doing mischief, by sending them to their original place of destination. Soon after, he transported the other disaffected troops likewise into Flanders: Politic contrivances, which turned that animosity of spirit against the enemies of Britain, which, if left to corrode at home, might have recoiled upon herself.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.
1689.

This mutiny produced a law, which made an important innovation in the English constitution, to wit, the act for punishing mutiny and desertion: A law which gave a legal sanction to the establishment of standing armies, which had been hitherto rather overlooked than acknowledged by parliament. This act, limited to the space of one year, has ever since been annually renewed; but, the renewal being almost considered as a matter of course, the form serves only to keep the people in mind that standing armies were deemed illegal by their ancestors.

This produces the mutiny act.

The mutiny of the Scotch regiments made the deeper impression in England, because it was thought to portend similar discontents in the rest of their countrymen: For that reason, all eyes became now intent upon the ensuing Scottish convention, which was to determine whether England and Scotland were to obey the same Sovereign, or if hostilities were to be renewed between the two countries, which had involved both in blood for six centuries.

* In the books of privy council, 26th September 1689, there is a pardon to the officers.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.

1689.
Heads of
party in
Scotland on
the Prince's
side.

Of those who had offered their services to William, for the settlement of Scotland, three were eminent above the rest: The Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Athole, and Lord Stair. The Duke of Hamilton had disapproved of the measures of the late reign, but without publicly opposing them: He had observed the same cautious conduct with regard to the parties of his countrymen: He took advantage of his rank*, to attend none of those public cabals in which all party measures had been conducted in Scotland, from the time of the tables of the covenant; and, by that singularity, appeared to be of no party, at the time when he was dealing in private with all parties. Son of the illustrious house of Douglas, married to the heiress of the house of Hamilton; related to the royal family, and to most of the crowned heads of Europe; in succession in right of his wife to the crown of Scotland at a time when the ancient families of Scotland were of importance in the scale of government, because they were of importance in their own country; his pre-eminence was seen by William, and perhaps feared. He had been intrusted with none of the secrets of the revolution from the ambiguity of his conduct. Yet he took a violent side against King James upon his first retreat, but made apologies† to that Prince's friends, as soon as he heard of his return. William, therefore, affected to shew him the highest honours, cajoling him by those arts which the Duke was in use to employ upon others. From hence, and from the vanity of pre-eminence, he had consented to preside in the assembly at London, which offered the Prince the administration of government: And hence, William gave him all the influence of the court, to be president of that convention, which was to make the offer of govern-

* Lord Balcarras.

† Ibid.

ment itself. The Marquis of Athole was a subject of great consequence, because his estate and power lay in the heart of the highlands. He had concurred in all the measures of the two royal brothers, and had been loaded with favours and honours by both. Yet, upon news of James's retreat, he flew, from restlessness of temper, more than from principle, to London, while Scotland was still in disquiet; resolved, amid contending Princes, to make the best terms for himself. He almost alone, of all those who went to London to offer their service to the Prince of Orange, returned home discontented; because his views had been too sanguine, and because he was ashamed of what he had done. His repentance he made offer of to the friends of James in Scotland, which was received, and thanked in public*, but in secret distrusted. Lord Stair had none of the external advantages of the other two. Yet, from great reach of thought, and thorough knowledge of men and parties, gained from experience, he came to be a considerable figure in party. When the civil war broke out, he commanded a troop of dragoons in the parliament's service. After the death of Charles the First, he gave himself up entirely to the love of letters; but, weary of a life, in whose solitary charms he found not all the enjoyments he expected, he longed to be in the world again: He applied himself therefore to the profession of the law, and was made a judge by Cromwell. Upon the restoration, he attached himself to the Duke of Lauderdale: The furies of that minister † he often moderated, and often opposed, openly when he could, secretly when he could not; yet still preserved his friendship. After enduring many years the loss of his rank and his country, from the injustice of the Duke of York, he, at the age

* Lord Balcarras.

† Viscount of Stair's apology for himself.

PART I.
BOOK V. II.

1689.

of 70, assumed again his long-neglected sword and cuirass, and came over with the Prince of Orange, who was so fond of him, that he carried him * in his own ship. The influence of Lord Stair in party was increased by that of his son Sir John Dalrymple, a man distinguished above all by the beauty of his person and the power of his eloquence. To the wisdom and experience of the father, to the parts and shew of the son, rather than to the power of the Duke of Hamilton, William, certain that the two former could never hope to be pardoned by James, resolved to leave the management of Scotland in the end; but, in the mean time, to make advantage of the Duke's offers of service for the settlement of his country.

On the side-
of James.

Of all those nobles whom James, when Duke of York, had honoured with his friendship, and when King graced with his favours, a few only continued openly in his interest: Of these the chief were the Duke of Gordon, a Roman catholic, to whom James had intrusted the castle of Edinburgh, a man weak, and wavering in courage, but bound by shame and religion; Lord Balcarras, attached by affection, gratitude, and that delicacy of sentiment which the love of letters commonly inspires; and Lord Dundee, who had for ever before his eyes ideas of glory, the duty of a soldier, and the example of the great Montrose, from whose family he was descended. James had intrusted the care of his civil concerns in Scotland to Balcarras, and of his military ones to Dundee. William asked both to enter into his service. Dundee refused without ceremony. Balcarras confessed the trust which had been put in him, and asked the King, If, after that, he could enter into the service of another? William generously answered, " I cannot

* Crawford's peerage.

“ say that you can :” But added, “ Take care that
 “ you fall not within the law ; for otherwise I shall be
 “ forced against my will to let the law overtake you *.”

PART I.
 BOOK VIII.
 1689.

The other nobles of the late King's party waited for events, in hopes and in fears from the old government and the new, intriguing with both, and depended upon by neither.

Nor was the spirit of intrigue confined to the adherents of James ; it affected equally † both parties, in a country far from the seat of government, upon that account exposed to uncertain rumours, and only beginning to feel its own importance, after it had long lost the idea of it : The nation distrusted the great, and the great each other. Even the most open attachments became suspicious, on account of the divisions in politics between fathers and their sons : For while the Duke of Queensberry, the Marquis of Athole, and Lord Arran, maintained connections with James ; Lord Drumlanrig, Lord Murray, and the Duke of Hamilton, appeared violent in the service of his rival.

Great spirit
 of intrigue
 in Scotland.

The convention met on the 14th of March. As the governing part of the boroughs had been modelled by King James, the members sent up from thence should have been favourable to his interests. But Lord Stair ‡, whose views were extensive, had taken care, in the paper which contained the offer of administration to the Prince, to recommend that the borough-elections should be made by a general poll of the burghesses ; an artifice which, while it took the blame of innovation off the Prince, prepared the way for securing the elections to the whigs and presbyterians. The parties at the convention first tried their strengths in the choice of a president. The Duke of Ha-

The Scotch
 convention
 meets, con-
 sisting al-
 most entire-
 ly of whigs.

* MS. memoirs, written by the late Lord Balcarras.

† General McKay's MS. correspondence with Lord Portland and K. William.

‡ Lord Balcarras.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.

1689.

milton was set up by the new, the Marquis of Athole by the old court: A singular situation, where both candidates were distrusted, both by those who recommended, and by those who elected them. The former was preferred by 40 votes out of about 150 voters: A victory which, from the nature of the human mind, determined the wavering. A committee of elections was next named, consisting of nine whigs and three tories. Sir John Dalrymple, who was an able lawyer, found it easy to start objections to the returns of the opposite party, and to remove those which were made against his own. The committee in the house followed his opinions, because the necessity of the times was made the excuse of partiality. The Duke of Hamilton, respecting the dignity of his situation in the convention, refused his countenance to some of these proceedings, but in vain; for he was soon made sensible, that he was joined with a party which was resolved not to stand upon ceremony, when the public interest was at stake*. Yet one instance of disinterestedness was respected even by those who blamed its intention: The Earl of Hume held most of his estate by a tenure which excluded a peer: Hence he had waived his privilege, and was returned as a commoner: But some objections being made to the forms of his election; "Well," said he, "if I am not permitted to give my voice in the cause of my country as a commoner, I will give it on a title to which nobody can object;" crossed the hall, and took his seat on the Earls bench†.

Letters from
the late and
present
King.

When the convention sat down, two letters were presented, one from the present, and another from the late King of England. The convention read both; but first passed an act, that nothing contained in the last of them

* Vide a letter from Secretary Stair to the Duke of Hamilton, Jan. 13, 1691, to be hereafter printed.

† Lord Balcarras.

should dissolve their assembly, or stop their proceeding to the settlement of the nation. James's letter was written in the terms of a conqueror and a priest; threatening the convention with punishment in this world, and damnation in the next: And, as it was countersigned by Lord Mellfort, a papist, and a minister abhorred by the Presbyterians, the style and the signature hurt equally the interest which the letter was intended to serve. No answer was given. William's letter, on the contrary, was answered in strains of gratitude and respect; a distinction which sufficiently shewed what was to be expected from the future resolutions of the assembly. In order to give the greater mark of attention, Lord Ross was dispatched to London with the answer.

PART I.
Book VIII.
1689.

They answer the latter, not the former.

The convention, then, with that impetuosity which makes part of the character of their nation, in the course of a few days, issued a proclamation, ordering all men, from sixteen to sixty, to be ready in arms when called for; arrayed and armed the militias of the southern counties, and gave the command of them to those on whom they could rely; levied troops, accepted the offers of zealous whigs to raise more, and imposed taxes for the support of both. Not contented with securing quiet within the kingdom, they made provision against attacks from without. For they sent arms and ammunition to the protestants in the North of Ireland, who were mostly their countrymen; and, upon a report that an invasion was threatened from that kingdom, erected beacons on the high grounds, ordered the cattle to be driven from the coasts on sight of a fleet from thence, laid an embargo upon ships going there without their permission, and directed the sheriffs to seize all whom they found in arms without authority: The Duke of Hamilton was also empowered to secure *all suspected persons*; indefinite words, which conferred a dictatorial power upon him. With the

Their vigorous measures.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.

1689.

Attempts to
dissolve the
convention.

same rapidity they approved the address made by their countrymen at London to the Prince of Orange; and named a committee for settling the government, of which the only person suspected by the whigs was the Marquis of Athole *.

In the mean time, Lord Balcarras and Lord Dundee endeavoured to interrupt the convention itself, since they could not stop its proceedings. They, for some time, prevented the Duke of Gordon from treating with the convention to surrender the castle; and, when he consented to a treaty, they contrived † to entangle him so much in adjusting the terms of it, that the convention proclaimed him a traitor, with all the forms of the heralds, under the walls of his own fortress. The Duke answered, with some spirit, “ That the heralds ought not to proscribe the King’s governor, with the King’s livery on their shoulders.” Balcarras, but still more Dundee, then urged him to fire upon the city, in order to dissolve the convention: And, when he refused, they formed a plan to distract the convention, by summoning a new one to meet at Stirling; an expedient which they, with the archbishop of Glasgow, by a special commission from James, had a power to make use of. And they prevailed upon Lord Marr, who was governor of the castle of Stirling, and the Marquis of Atholè, to attend them in this service. But, when the day for quitting Edinburgh approached, these two lords were seized with a terror which they had had not felt when the danger was at a distance. The one asked a delay; the other divulged the secret, that he might not be obliged to ask one. Dundee, enraged at his enemies, and still more at his friends, resolved to retire to the highlands, and to make preparations for civil war, but with secrecy; for he had been or-

* Balcarras. Record of Scotch convention. Gazettes.

† Record of Scotch convention, March 15, 1689. Balcarras.

dered by James to make no public insurrection until assistance should be sent him from Ireland *.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.

1639.

Dundee re-
tires from
the conven-
tion.

Whilst Dundee was in this temper, information was brought him, whether true or false is uncertain, that some of the covenanters had associated themselves to assassinate him, in revenge for his former severities † against their party. He flew to the convention, and demanded justice. The Duke of Hamilton, who wished to get rid of a troublesome adversary, treated his complaint with neglect; and, in order to sting him in the tenderest part, reflected upon that courage which could be alarmed by imaginary dangers. Dundee left the house in a rage, mounted his horse, and with a troop of 50 horsemen, who had deserted ‡ to him from his regiment in England, galloped through the city. Being asked by one of his friends, who stopt him, Where he was going? He waved his hat, and is reported to have answered, "Wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me." In passing under the walls of the castle, he stopt, scrambled up the precipice at a place difficult and dangerous, and held a conference with the Duke of Gordon, at a postern gate, the marks of which are still to be seen, though the gate itself is built up. Hoping, in vain, to infuse the vigour of his own spirit into the Duke, he pressed him to retire with him into the highlands, raise his vassals there, who were numerous, brave, and faithful, and leave the command of the castle to Winram the Lieutenant Governor, an officer on whom Dundee could rely. The Duke concealed his timidity under the excuse of a soldier. "A soldier," said he, "cannot in honour quit the post that is assigned him." The novelty of the sight drew numbers to the foot of the rock upon which the conference was held. These numbers every minute increased; and, in the end, were mis-

* Lord Balcarras,
written by himself.

† General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs, written
‡ Ibid.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.

1689.

Use which
the Duke of
Hamilton
makes of it.

taken in the city for Dundee's adherents. The convention was then sitting: News were carried thither that Dundee was at the gates with an army, and had prevailed upon the governor of the castle to fire upon the town *. The Duke of Hamilton, whose intelligence was better, had the presence of mind, by improving the moment of agitation, to overwhelm the one party, and provoke the other, by their fears. He ordered the doors of the house to be shut, and the keys to be laid on the table before him. He cried out, " There was danger within as well as without doors: That traitors must be held in confinement until the present danger was over: But that the friends of liberty had nothing to fear; for that thousands were ready to start up in their defence at the stamp of his foot." He ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound through the city. In an instant, vast swarms of those who had been brought into town, by him and Sir John Dalrymple, from the western counties, and who had been hitherto hid in garrets and cellars, shewed themselves in the streets, not indeed in proper habiliments of war, but in arms, and with looks fierce and sullen, as if they felt disdain at their former concealment. This unexpected sight increased the noise and tumult of the town, which grew loudest in the square adjoining to the house where the members were confined; and appeared still louder to those who were within, because they were ignorant of the cause from which the tumult arose, and caught contagion from the anxious looks of each other. After some hours, the doors were thrown open, and the whig-members, as they went out, were received with the acclamations, and those of the opposite party, with the threats and curses, of a prepared populace. Terrified by the prospect of future

* Record of Scotch convention, March 8.

alarms,

alarms, many of the adherents of James quitted the convention, and retired to the country: More of them changed sides: Only a very few of the most resolute continued their attendance *.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.

1689.

A momentary difference of opinion in the convention.

The whig party, thus left to themselves, proceeded to settle the government. A momentary difference in opinion arose in private: The Duke of Hamilton, because he was suspected, pressed with the more vehemence to settle the crown directly on William and Mary. Lord Stair and his son had long † thought that an union of the two kingdoms was the surest way to aggrandize both. With this view Lord Stair had got William to recommend that measure strongly in his letter to the convention. And now he and his son, together with Lord Tarbet, counselled their countrymen to make the settlement of the crown and the union of the kingdoms go hand in hand. To the whigs they argued, “ That, in the present distressed and distracted state of England, Scotland would obtain better terms than she could expect at any other period.” To the friends of James they got it suggested, “ That the adjustment of the terms of the union would prolong the settlement of the crown; and that they ought to return to the convention, in order to embarrass that settlement by loading it with a project not dangerous to their party, because inextricable by the other.” But the friends of James, having learnt from whence the suggestion came, avoided to give their concurrence on account of the suggesters; and the more keen presbyterians refused to listen to an union with a people who yielded to prelacy. Lord Stair and his son saw all the consequences of splitting their own party, and relinquished a project, which, at a more fortunate period, the last of these persons renewed with better success.

* Balcarras. Gazette, April 1. Record of Scotch convention.

† Balcarras. Gazette, April 4.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.

1689.

The convention declares James forfeited.

The revolution in England was brought about by a coalition of whigs and tories; but in Scotland by the whigs almost alone. Hence, the Scottish convention, instead of amusing themselves with school disputes about words, which, while they discovered the fine lines of party in England, had embarrassed the English convention, struck their blow without ceremony, and came to a resolution, that King James had, by his evil deeds, *forfaulted* his right to the crown; a term which, in the language of the law of Scotland, involved in it the exclusion of all his posterity as well as his own. But, as this resolution would have comprehended the other children of James, as well as the young Prince, they agreed upon the following explanation of the word *forfaulted* *: “ Agreed, that
“ the word *forfault*, in the resolution, should imply no
“ other alteration in the succession to the crown, than the
“ seclusion of King James, the pretended Prince of
“ Wales, and the children that shall be procreated of either of their bodies.” Only five opposed these resolutions. One of the five was Sir George M’Kenzie, who had been removed from the station of Lord Advocate, when Sir John Dalrymple was placed in it by Lord Sunderland. Sir John Dalrymple concluded the debate with a force and a splendour of eloquence, the fame of which is lively to this day among the aged in Scotland; exhibiting an example to Kings, either not to trample upon their subjects, or not to put themselves afterwards in their power,

And settle the crown on William and Mary;

The convention next made offer of the crown to William and Mary: A vote in which the Duke of Queensberry and the Marquis of Athole concurred, although they had refused to be present at the other. They reconciled their conduct by saying, “ That, since the throne

* Record of Scotch convention, 4th April.

“ was

“ was declared vacant by the nation, they knew none so
“ worthy to fill it as the Prince and Princess of Orange :”

A mixture of sentiment, intended to please both Kings, but which, like most compliments of the kind, pleased neither. From an excess of zeal which betrayed the cause of it, the Duke of Hamilton demeaned himself to act the part of a clerk ; reading, at the ordinary place of proclamation, the act of convention aloud to the mean multitude, who found even their own vanity hurt in the sacrifice which was made to it by the first man in the nation *. With more dignity the parliament accompanied the offer of the crown with such a declaration of rights, as laid open all the invasions upon the constitution, not of the late King alone, but of his brother, and ascertained every disputed pretension between the crown and the subject : For, accustomed either to trample upon their sovereigns, or to be trampled upon by them, the Scottish nation chose to leave nothing to be adjusted afterwards by the vibration between the executive and legislative powers, which had kept the English constitution almost continually in a just medium, between the imperiousness of the crown and the licentiousness of the subject. The Earl of Argyle for the peers, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs, were sent to London with the offer of the crown.

and make
their declaration of
rights more comprehensive than
that of England.

After this sentence of forfeiture against so great a part of the Scottish royal line, a sudden damp struck many of those who had pronounced it, in a nation accustomed to servility during the last forty years, and scarcely daring to feel itself free. But some letters intercepted from Lord Mellfort suspended all returns of pity to James : In one of these to Lord Dundee, Mellfort said, “ You will ask no
“ doubt how we shall be able to pay our armies : But can

Letters from
Lord Mellfort intercepted.

* Lord Balcarras.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.

1689.

“ you ask such a question while our enemies, the rebels, have estates to be forfeited? We will begin with the great, and end with the small ones.” Another to Lord Balcarras contained these words: “ The estates of the rebels will recompense us. You know there were several Lords whom we marked out, when you and I were together, who deserved no better fates; these will serve as examples to others:” Words the more alarming, because the persons alluded to were not named: Hence, great terrors were felt by many, and pretended to be felt by more. The whig party assumed merit, because they were the objects of these threats; individuals entering into competitions concerning the degrees of the dangers they were exposed to, and the Duke of Hamilton claiming pre-eminence beyond all others. Nor were sundry of the adherents of James without their anxieties: For the consciousness even of defection in their hearts, when it had not appeared in their deeds, alarmed them secretly with suspicions, lest their looks had been studied, and their domestic conversations betrayed. After the letters were read to the convention, the Duke of Hamilton, president of the assembly, rising up, cried out with an impetuous voice, “ You hear, you hear, my Lords and Gentlemen, our sentence pronounced. We must take our choice, to die, or to defend ourselves.” Words more persuasive than the most artificial rhetoric *.

William's
behaviour at
taking the
coronation
oath.

James was not more lessened in the eyes of the Scotch by these letters, than his rival was raised by an accident which happened at his taking the coronation oath. The

* The adherents of the Stuart family have always maintained, that these letters were forgeries. It is plain from the printed memoirs of Lord Balcarras, that he believed them to be authentic. I have consulted the books of privy council and the records of convention to get light; but can find none. In King William's cabinet there is a commission from King James to the Earl of Seaforth, dated 30th Nov. 1689, containing expressions similar to those of Mellfort's letters; but it is only a copy.

administration of the coronation oath of Scotland was a ceremony attended with much awe; the King holding up his right hand high, whilst he swore, and repeating each word with slowness after the person who read it. It contained a clause, that the King should root out heretics. At these words, William stopt the Earl of Argyle, who was administering the oath, and declared, he did not mean to oblige himself to become a persecutor. The commissioners answering, that such was not the meaning of the oath: "Then," said the King, "I take it in that sense only." Whether this scruple was the effect of affectation or of delicacy is immaterial: It became a King, for it pleased the people.

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1689.

Whilst these events in England and Scotland were the result of designs deeply laid and ably conducted, their effects in Ireland were in a great measure committed to chance. The pains which Lord Tyrconnel had long bestowed in modelling his army, the known violence of his temper, the insolence of the Roman catholics in prosperity, some indiscreet expressions which had fallen from their priests*, the more alarming from the low condition of the men who uttered them, and above all, the custom, almost habitual to the Irish protestants, of seeing Irish massacres in imagination, had, in the month of November, spread the panic of a massacre amongst all the protestants of the north. Even the particular day, the 9th of December, was believed to have been fixed for execution. Whence the rumour originally took its rise, no one could tell: For there was no distinguishing what fear only suggested, from what had been invented or repeated. After the rumour had been propagated for some weeks with a secret horror, it blazed suddenly forth in the county of Down. Lord Mount-

The panic
of a massacre
arises in Ire-
land.

* M'Kenzie, p. 3. and 48.

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Alexander, upon the 3d of December, received an anonymous letter, warning him to provide for his safety. The letter was written, as appeared from its style*, by one of the lowest of the people. Nothing appeared to confirm the tidings it bore. But, for that very reason, all were struck with the deeper panic. They reasoned, "How deep and how well laid must a scheme be, of which we are unable to discover even the traces." All inquiry was drowned in the cries of women and children. The letter was every where received as an indisputable proof of the general report. It was sent instantly †, by expresses, to the neighbouring towns, and to Dublin; and from Dublin it was communicated to all parts of the kingdom.

Revolt of
London-
derry, and
manner of
it.

During this ferment, twelve popish companies, amounting to full 1200 men, were sent to take quarters in the protestant town of Londonderry. By accident, no previous intimation of their destination had been sent to the town. Three days before the time which was imagined to have been fixed for the massacre, the troops rested at Newton Limaviday, a village half a day's march from Londonderry. Tyrconnel, from the facility of finding recruits in a country full of people and fond of war, had raised several regiments of men who were six feet high ‡: The soldiers of these twelve companies were of that stature. A huge troop of women and children followed them; as was the custom of a social and idle people. In the tumult of quartering, some disorders were committed by the soldiers. The inhabitants complained || to Mr. Philips, the proprietor of the village, and their passions exaggerated the objects of their complaints. As it is natural for the human mind to be inflamed by those who appear inflamed themselves, the

* McKenzie, p. 3.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 2.

|| Walker, p. 7.

Imagination of Mr. Philips increased the importance of the circumstances that were related to him. He immediately sent an express, in the night-time, with a letter * to the inhabitants of Londonderry, which described the appearance and manners of the men, and informed them of his suspicions, that they were destined for their destruction: A short time before, another express had been dispatched for that town † from Belfast, with a copy of the anonymous letter which Lord Mount-Alexander had received. Upon the arrival of this last messenger, who came in the evening, a report spread through the town, that he brought bad news; but, as nobody could learn what these were, a fear, heightened by uncertainty, seized all. Next morning, whilst the people were convened to hear the contents of Lord Mount-Alexander's letter, the messenger from Mr. Philips arrived ‡. So that the two letters were read almost together. Immediately after, successive informations were communicated to those who were in the more distant parts of the assembly, and by them instantly spread through the rest, that the troops were preparing to march, had marched, were approaching, and that officers were arrived to demand admittance for the corps which followed them. The graver citizens, and those of better ranks, accounting resistance vain ||, declared their opinions for admitting the troops. But the younger part of the assembly, and those of meaner condition, whose passions, both from nature and habit, are always violent, cried out, "The very stature of the men, the fullness of the companies, shewed they were intended for some deadly purpose. Their women and children followed, in expectation of finding that pleasure in plunder, which

* Walker, p. 7.

† Ibid.

‡ M'Kenzie, p. 3.

|| Walker, p. 7. M'Kenzie, p. 4.

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“ their husbands and fathers were to enjoy in blood.” While this dispute was carrying on, the troops had halted within sight of the town, to wait for the return of their officers: And at length, becoming tired with waiting, and irritated by the affront of delay, they marched up to the town. But, when they came within an hundred yards of the walls, nine youths* rushed forth from their companions, pulled up the draw-bridge, shut the gates, and drew the bars. Animated at the sight of the action, others flew to seize the guard-room, to break open the magazine, to distribute the arms: The rest promiscuously commanding and commanded, placed centinels on the walls, pointed what miserable cannon they found there, and returned a defiance. On the behaviour of these nine youths turned the fate of Ireland, and perhaps of King James; and therefore their service is the more worthy of commemoration.

The revolt
spreads
through
Ulster.

Roused by this example, the inhabitants of Inniskilling, a few days after, rose against their magistrates, refused admittance to Tyrconnel's troops, and wrote† to the inhabitants of Londonderry, proposing mutual assistance for mutual defence. The spirit of resistance in these two towns was, in a few days, communicated to all the protestant inhabitants of the northern counties. In the province of Ulster, the people of the counties of Down, Antrim, Ardmagh, Moneghan, Derry, Donnegal, and Tyrhone, assembled separately‡, chose each a general, and a council for the defence of each separate county, and appointed a general council of union at Hillsborough, for the common interest of all. These councils raised regiments, made other preparations for defence, and wrote secretly to England to implore protection from the Prince of Orange.

* M'Kenzie, p. 4.

† Ibid. p. 45. and 49.

‡ Ibid. p. 11.

But,

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The Prince
of Orange's
neglect of
Ireland.

But, while the Prince was observing wise and provident measures for the settlement of England and Scotland, he left Ireland entirely neglected. He would scarce listen * to the accounts brought from that country, or see those who brought them. He received with coldness all schemes for the speedy relief of the protestant interest there. He sent no troops from England into Ireland. Instead of stationing any part of the English fleet to guard and overawe that kingdom, he laid it up under Lord Dartmouth in the Medway; not daring either to trust him with the charge of the fleet, or to discover his distrust of him, by giving it to another. And, instead of taking any soothing measures to gain Tyrconnel, the Lord Lieutenant, to his interest, or vigorous ones to frighten him from asserting those of James, he contented himself with sending over Colonel Hamilton, one of Tyrconnel's friends, the same man who had attended James in his barge to Rochester, to summon Tyrconnel to submit to the present administration. Hamilton betrayed his trust, and advised him to refuse obedience. Tyrconnel remained long in suspense between his hopes and his fears from both princes, and perhaps not without some views, from the irregularity of his ambition, of erecting an establishment for himself, independent of both. His uncertainty was encreased by his receiving no orders from James, whose letters were either intercepted, or who neglected Ireland, like the Prince. During this period Tyrconnel amused the Prince with promises, but still avoided to fulfil them. At length James having, upon the 12th of January, wrote him a letter, in which he promised to land soon in Ireland with a great French force, his resolutions became fixed. But pretending still a conflict between the duties of a citizen, and the honour

Tyrconnel
amuses him;

* Clarendon's Diary, passim.

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but prepares
to defend
Ireland.

State of
Ireland.

of a soldier, he declared his opinion to the chief men of the protestant party, that Ireland ought to be surrendered, but that he could not do it without that Prince's permission who had committed the charge of it to him; and sent Lord Mountjoy, who was looked upon as the head of the protestant interest, to James, to satisfy him, that Ireland was incapable of defence: A stratagem which both gained time, and freed Tyrconnel from a troublesome opponent. Mountjoy had no sooner departed, than Tyrconnel gave orders for raising twenty new popish regiments, of 1000 men each; and, when Mountjoy arrived in Paris, he was immediately committed to the Bastile.

Whilst there were doubts of Tyrconnel's intentions, the protestants, uncertain of events in England, and discouraged by the inattention of the Prince of Orange, assumed a similar ambiguity of conduct. The northern counties published declarations, that their associations were only intended in self-defence against the dangers of a massacre. The inhabitants of Londonderry* wrote apologies for what had passed, to be communicated to Tyrconnel, and even to be sent into England. They published a declaration† full of loyalty to King James before they knew he had retired, praying for long dominion to a Prince who had already resigned it.

But, when they heard of Lord Mountjoy's fate, saw new popish regiments raising every where, and understood that most of the commissions were given to officers‡ who agreed to ask no pay for their men; a declaration that their subsistence was to arise from the miseries of their opponents; the parties of protestants and papists declared a-new, and openly, their mutual jealousies: The one expressed their suspicions lest former cruelties should

* M'Kenzie, p. 18.

† Walker, p. 41.

‡ Ibid.

be repeated; the other were conscious of merited revenge for late injuries; and both* of them gave and received terrors by turns. Many of the rich and of the weaker sex, removed† their persons and their effects to strong places, and into Scotland and England. The sight of their own numbers‡, when they met in those places, or on the shores, increased, by the contagion of sympathy, the fear which each individual had brought along with him. But the minds of those who remained at home were still more agitated: For, in several towns, agreements|| were made to receive garrisons composed equally of the forces of each party: A state of neutrality full of suspense and of jealousy, and even more dreadful to the garrisons, and to the towns possessed by them, than all the sufferings of actual war.

The Prince's neglect of Ireland was variously accounted for: Those who looked for political views in all his measures, imputed it to an opinion which Lord Halifax had suggested, that nothing could impel the English so much to a speedy settlement of England, as a prospect of the unsettled condition of Ireland§. Those who saw only malignant ends in all his actions, exclaimed, after his advancement to the throne, "That he had encouraged the Irish to rebel, in order to procure an opportunity of enriching, by their forfeitures, the followers of his fortunes." But people who judged with less refinement, and therefore probably with more truth, drew apologies for the Prince's conduct, from the credit which he gave to the assurances of Tyrconnel, his own opinion that the provinces of England would easily follow the fate of the kingdom to which they belonged, the disgrace which an unsuccessful attempt might bring

Causes of
the Prince's
neglect of
Ireland.

* Walker, p. 9. M'Kenzie, p. 10.

April 20.

† Gazette, March 6, and
‡ Judge Keeling's letter in Archbishop King, p. 347.

|| M'Kenzie, p. 9.

§ Vide Appendix to former Book.

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Mr. Temple's voluntary death to vindicate his master.

upon his new administration, and perhaps some distrust of seamen and soldiers who had so lately shewn so little steadiness to their own master. Sir William Temple's son, secretary at war, who had engaged to the Prince for the success and fidelity of Colonel Hamilton, thought it his duty, some time after, by a voluntary death, to take the blame off the Prince, and throw it upon himself: A young gentleman of the finest accomplishments, happy in the possession of a woman he loved, and in high prosperity! He left behind him a note to this purpose: "My own imprudence in the Prince's service, and the hurt I have done it, are the causes of my death. I wish him success in all his undertakings, and a better servant than I have proved*." A fate which, amid the great convulsions of state, recalled the minds of men to the delicacies of honour in private persons, and to the tender feelings of nature.

* Clarendon's Diary, April 19. Reresby, 46.

END OF PART FIRST.

PART II.

BOOK I.

STATE of Parties.—Of Holland.—Of Parliament.—Of the Court.—Opposition in Parliament.—The Whigs attack the Tories.—The King's Arts to remove Opposition.—Parsimony of Parliament.—It hurts Public Credit.—The King's grand Scheme for composing Differences disappointed.—Causes of this Disappointment.—His Breach with the Church.—Declaration of War against France.

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1689.

WILLIAM was scarcely seated upon the throne when he experienced the truth of the maxim, That crowns are encircled with thorns. The adherents of the late King exclaimed, "That the Prince of Orange had, under pretence of preserving the constitution, overturned it, broken faith with the nation, and trampled upon the laws of God and of man." William's success, since his arrival in England, had been so rapid, that many of the Tories, who had, in the torrent of national sympathy, concurred in placing the crown upon his head, scarcely recollected

State of parties.

[A]

till

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till now, that they had, by their own votes, not only dethroned King James, but preferred the two Princesses, the Prince of Orange, and their issue, to his son; and * pretended they had only not opposed, rather than confessed they had promoted, events which they had not originally foreseen. Most of the church were obliged, from pride, and a regard to consistency of character, to appear discontented with the elevation of the Prince; seeing there were few clergymen who had not, in the pulpit, or in their writings, or in conversation, inveighed against the right of the subject to infringe the succession to the crown upon any account whatever. The calvinistical tenets, in which the Prince had been educated, the great number of dissenters who attended him into England, the still greater numbers which were seen plying at court, and the indiscretion of both in accounting his victories to be their own, added the impulses of jealousy to those of honour in the minds of the clergy. Of the seven bishops who had been persecuted by King James, only one, Lloyd of St Asaph, waited on the new King. When Queen Mary sent to ask Sancroft's blessing, his answer was, "That she must ask her father's, for his" would not otherwise be heard in heaven." Even the ablest men act more from past impressions, than from foresight: The Prince had been accustomed, from his youth, to consider the dissenters as the friends of his family and country, and the church to be attached to those Princes who were enemies to both: As soon therefore as he discovered the coldness of the clergy, it excited his resentment, or such a degree of distrust and reserve, as the jealousy of party construed

* Sir John Reresby and Clarendon's Diary, passim.

construed into resentment. From the past services of the whigs, the King flattered himself with their future compliance with his will : But, fearing the loss of their popularity, they resolved to continue that jealousy of the crown which their party had always entertained, and which they were now ashamed to relinquish.

The King was teased by the humours, as well as by the parties of his new subjects : The number of the great, who had ventured their lives and fortunes in the cause of the revolution, or whom it was of consequence to conciliate to it, was so considerable, that it became impossible to gratify the expectations of the former, or to hold out sufficient temptations to the latter. Hence some of them complained of the King's ingratitude, and others of his neglect. Those who formed their sentiments of regard or aversion upon manner, were disgusted with that of the King. His natural inattention and reserve, which arose partly from the extensive foreign projects which were continually rolling in his thoughts, and partly from a thorough conviction of the selfishness of individuals who approached him, prevented his gaining those persons by complaisance, who could not be gained by favours, or upon whom he had not favours to bestow. The number of the discontented was increased by the return of pity, felt by some in a stronger, by others in a weaker degree, but felt by most in some degree, for the fate of the late King. Among the lower ranks of the nation, a national characteristic of the English instantly appeared. The populace of London took offence at the looks, the dress, and language of the Dutch troops; fancying all these to be ugly and mean,

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merely because their eyes and ears had not been accustomed to them. They despised the modest air and parsimonious manners of the Dutch officers; they insulted the foldiers, as all popular passions are contagious, even some who were of a rank * which should have elevated them above assuming the tone of the populace, were betrayed into similar sentiments. The foreigners were at first uncertain what to think of such treatment, from men who had invited them into their country, and who stiled them their deliverers; but at last, imputing it to national caprice or disease, they overlooked, or pretended to overlook it: A conduct which, whilst it commanded the respect of the brave and the wise, made the abject and the weak imagine, that persons who could bear such contumelies, deserved to suffer them.

William had not the resources enjoyed by succeeding princes to overcome his difficulties. The revenues of the state would appear inconsiderable, and the offices of government, of arms, and of revenue, few in number, and small in profit, should we compare them to those of the present times. Besides, men of family had, at that time, as much pride in living frugally, and bestowing attention upon their private affairs, as their posterity have now in disregarding both. Hence the dependence upon government was slight, and individuals were left at liberty to follow their own principles, prejudices, and caprices.

State of
Holland.

Amidst the pomp of royalty, William found his happiness poisoned from a quarter which he little suspected: His Dutch became as discontented as his English subjects. The French, in his absence, having declared

* Sir John Reresby, page 319. et passim.

declared war against Holland, his own enemies and those of his family exclaimed, "That while, for his own security, he kept the "Dutch army so long in "England, he left his country exposed to the vengeance of France; and that he detained their fleet "with an intention to join it to that of the English, "and to use both in oppressing the liberties of Holland, at a time when she was defenceless within, "and threatened by a foreign enemy from without." Even the more moderate lamented, "That William's "absence from Holland, and the attention to his duties as the King of another country, could not fail "to draw off his mind from those which he owed to them as their Stadtholder." The rivalry and pride of nations arose in the minds of the Dutch. The popular cry was, "That Holland must expect to be "no more, for the future, than an appendage to England." William, who was attached to his countrymen with all the passion of a lover, felt how dearly a Prince pays for the dominion of another country, who runs a risk of losing the estimation of his own.

But, against all these difficulties, the King hoped to derive security, from his own spirit, from possession, from that love of liberty which is natural to the English, and above all from their hereditary hatred of the people who had given refuge to his rival: For he, who had been all his life employed in managing the parties of a free state, well knew, that popular governments are conducted as often by the imaginations as by the interests of the people, and not more by the principles of union than by those of antipathy: He therefore placed his chief security in the popular opinion, that his own support was necessarily connected

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State of par-
liament.

ned with the humiliation, and that of the late King with the exaltation, of the natural enemy of England.

The state of the convention, however, appeared to be a fortunate circumstance for the King. Although, in the heat of the whig-victory, the members returned to the house of commons were the most violent of that party, and therefore naturally inclined to circumscribe the power of the crown; yet, old and recent injuries, the consciousness that they could never be forgiven by the late King, and their pleasure in having obtained the declaration of rights; all determined them to maintain the settlement of the crown itself. In the house of Lords, which, from former connections, was expected to retain prejudices for the abdicated family, the aversion of nobles to republican principles, with their own principle, that the power of the crown should be supported, whoever wore it; but still more, the terror of many, lest they should be called to account for their concurrence with royal measures in the two late reigns; gave hopes that the rights of the crown would be maintained even by those who had scruples about the King's title. The exclusion of the popish Lords, the absence of the non-juring bishops and peers, the flight of some of James's servants into France with their master, and the imprisonment of others by the great council, or by the convention, were circumstances which justified these hopes; because they removed from the house of Lords most of the partisans of the late King. Hence a most extraordinary state of party appeared in this parliament, as long as it sat. For, the assembly of commons, which had put the crown on William's head, opposed, and the

the assembly of Lords, which had endeavoured to keep it off, supported most of his measures.

In a country where the laws declare, that the King's ministers are responsible for his faults, all eyes were intent upon the choice which the King was to make of his ministry; and, for that reason, he was embarrassed. To mix whigs and tories together, men suspecting and suspected, hating and hated by each other, was full of difficulties. To trust his service to the tories alone, many of whom seemed averse to his title, appeared dangerous. To trust it to the whigs alone, was to declare himself the head of a party, and give countenance to a suspicion, that he intended to govern by those who had chiefly raised himself to government, and to proscribe all others from views of ambition. Gratitude, or rather the shame of appearing ungrateful, prevailed with William: He threw almost all power into the hands of the whigs; Lord Nottingham being almost the only notorious opposer of the King's elevation who was brought into administration. He and Lord Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state; the one from the remembrance of past, the other partly from views of future services, and partly to pay a compliment to the high-church party, with which he was connected. Upon the promotion of Nottingham, the tories complained, that they were all excluded from the participation of power, except one; and the whigs, that even one was admitted. By strange reverses of fortune, Burnet, who had been proscribed by the late King for libelling him, was made a bishop, and Sir Patience Ward was chosen one of the representatives in parliament, and * Pylkington Lord Mayor

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1689.
State of the
court.

* Gazette, March 22.

MEMOIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN

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Mayor of that city, in which the one had been pilloried, and in which the other had been condemned to pay L. 100,000, for an offence against the Duke of York, similar to that of Burnet. The privy seal, which had been taken from Hallifax in the late reign, was restored to him, and Lord Danby placed at the head of the council board; arrangements which pleased neither the whigs nor the tories; not the former, because these Lords had formerly humbled the whig cause; not the latter, because they had lately overturned the tory one. But Danby, who wished for his old staff of Lord treasurer, thought his services ill requitted; and, to make him reparation, he was created Marquis of Caermarthen. In order to make room for such persons as had real merit in promoting the revolution, or whose pretensions to merit it was thought prudent to admit, the treasury, the admiralty, and even the chancery, were put into commission. But the expedient was disobliging even to some of the persons who were honoured: For Lord Mordaunt and Admiral Herbert, the one in the Treasury, the other in the Admiralty, complained that they only presided, where they ought to have sat alone. By some unaccountable accident in the arrangement of places, Lord Godolphin, who had been at the head of the treasury in the reign of Charles the Second, and reduced to be chamberlain to the Queen upon the succession of that Prince's brother, was appointed to no higher station than that of a commissioner at the treasury-board. But what pleased all, was the nomination of the judges: Each privy-counsellor was directed to bring in a list of twelve; and, from these lists, the judges were selected; all men of abilities, and, which was no less

less material for imprinting due reverence for law, in a nation governed by laws and not by will, men of high yet gracious manners. Military preferments were given to Lord Churchill, but not suited either to his ambition or to his avarice. No notice was taken of his lady; she continued as usual in the family of the Princess Anne: A situation seemingly of small consequence; but which, for that very reason, her pride and her spirit of intrigue determined her to convert into a great one. Lord Sunderland was, by the voice of all, excluded from every department of government; by some, because he had served King James; by others, because he had betrayed him; and by a few, lest they might appear to have been the partners of his treachery.

But, though Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Hallifax, and Danby, appeared the public ministers of government, the King in secret put his real confidence at first, in friends more antiently and more sincerely attached to him: and chiefly in Mr Sidney, and in Bentink, a native of Holland; the first of whom he created Lord Sidney, and the last Lord Portland. Nottingham, Hallifax, and Danby, imputing the want of the King's confidence to jealousies instilled into him by each other, embarrassed him by their mutual complaints, and his affairs by thwarting one another. Nottingham, however, made use of that advantage, which singularity of situation gives to every man of address: Under the pretence of making his sovereign acquainted with the detail of a constitution, to which it was no offence to suppose him a stranger*, he furnished William with a list of all the prerogatives of the crown, with their dependencies on each other; an artifice †

[B]

by

* Burnet, 2. p. 3. & 14.

† Burnet, 2. p. 5.

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by which he intended to alienate the King's mind from that whig-party which had been accustomed to oppose the interests of prerogative: And to the lessons of Nottingham, William willingly listened, from a vanity to preserve that constitution unimpaired, which had been committed to his care; and, perhaps, also from the love of that power which men who cannot submit to others are the fondest to possess. But Hallifax and Danby, discontented with their situation, and believing all others to be as discontented as themselves, kept measures, and formed connections with the adherents of the old court; insinuating to their own friends, that it was a prudent thing in others to follow their example. Sir John Reresby relates, in his Memoirs, that Lord Hallifax and Lord Danby said to him, the one, "That wise men must not venture too far;" and the other, "That, if King James would quit his priests, he might still retrieve his affairs." When such men said such things, the allurements of a court were thrown out to others in vain. Many looked * aside towards the old, at the very time they were receiving favours from the new establishment. Hallifax even † avoided the titles and ribbons which others solicited, lest honours conferred by one prince should be turned into disgraces by another. In this situation, the true lovers of their country saw, with foreboding minds, that all national exertions must be weak, loose, and disappointed, if not betrayed.

An opposition raised in parliament.

The effects of this disunion in the nation, and in the King's councils, appeared in an opposition to the first measure which he proposed. Trusting more to the compliance of the Lords, than to that of the commons, he had recommended to some peers to carry through

* Clarendon's Diary, and Reresby, passim.

† Reresby, 349.

through the house of Lords, a bill which had been framed in council for converting the convention into a parliament: They obeyed, and the bill passed their house * without opposition. But, when they sent it to the commons on the fourth day after William was proclaimed, a violent opposition, headed by Sir Edward Seymour, was made, under pretence, that a parliament could not assemble without the King's writ; and that, as the present convention had been called before the Prince of Orange received the crown, it was incapable of being converted into a parliament. The dispute appeared on first view to regard forms only: But some of the tories meant to bring into doubt the King's title, by attacking the validity of that assembly which had conferred it; and others had in view, if a new parliament was called, to recover that superiority in elections, which the whigs, in the first ferments upon the Prince of Orange's arrival, had obtained over them. However, the interest of individuals prevailed over those of party in most of the tories. They knew, that a new election must be attended with a new expence to themselves; they deserted Seymour in his opposition, and the convention was converted into a parliament. Upon this, many persons of discontented tempers, or who were attached to the late King, avoided to give attendance in parliament any longer.

An attack from the tories could be no great surprise to William; but he soon met with a succession of chagrines, from that whig-party which had placed him upon the throne. The chief objects of government, both in their own importance, and in the King's mind, were the support of Holland, attacked at that time by France, the reduction of Ireland, and the

[B 2]

settlement

Feb. 13.

and chiefly
by the
whigs.

* Journal of the House of Lords, 23d February.

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1689.

The whigs
begin their
attacks up-
on the to-
ries.

settlement of a revenue upon himself. And therefore, in the first speech which he made to the convention after he was proclaimed, he had recommended these capital objects to consideration : But he couched the last of them under the general expression of “ A settlement at home.” Instead of proceeding, however, as he wished, the commons, three days after, voted *, that the King should be desired to bestow a donative upon the foreign forces which were to leave the kingdom : An insinuation as plain as could be decently given, that their presence was no longer agreeable. And the same day, they began to make inquiries into the faults of the two late reigns, by ordering accounts to be made up, of the money expended upon prosecutions and secret services during that period. Soon after † they ranged the malversations of those reigns under seven different heads, and appointed a committee to inquire who had been guilty of them. They named another ‡ to prepare accusations, as it should think proper, against those adherents of the late King who were already in custody. And, to incite private persons to ask redress for the injuries they had suffered, they appointed a third to receive their complaints. Votes, by which, in the course of a few days, one half of the nation seemed to be set in battle-array against the other.

King's arts
to remove
opposition.

But, an opportunity presenting itself, for suspending the mutual animosities of parties, by means of their greater passion against a common enemy, the King embraced it. Having received intelligence, that the late King had sailed from Brest for Ireland, he communicated the news immediately to parliament ; and taking advantage of a circumstance, that James had

* Journals House of Commons, Feb. 21.

† Ibid. March 5.

‡ Ibid. March 6.

had with him a few French officers, added, that the invasion was supported by a French force. At the sound of the words, *French force*, all domestic animosity seemed in an instant to cease, and each vied with his neighbour, in manifesting zeal for the new government, and rage against that foreign power which was attempting to overturn it; some being actuated by sincerity, and others by a desire to conceal the want of it. But the former were, by far, the most numerous. For, in the restoration of King James, all the whigs dreaded punishment for what they had done, and most of the tories, for what they had neglected to do. Many of this last party, who held the rights of James's son to be sacred, were averse to his own person. Others, who disliked the present King, were still more averse to receive another from France. And all trembled at the brink of the precipice, when they beheld before them the horrors of civil war, and the more dreadful horrors of revenge after it, which ever side should prevail. Both houses, therefore, unanimously resolved to make an offer of their lives and fortunes to the King: And, to make the offer more solemn, both waited upon him, when their address was presented. The city of London thanked the houses for what they had done. The King's answer to the address was such as only an English prince can use to an English parliament. In raising the dignity of the people, it raised that of the person who was placed at their head: "I assure you," said he, "I will never
 " abuse the confidence you shall put in me; being fully
 " persuaded, that there is no sure foundation of a
 " good agreement between a king and his people, but a
 " mutual trust: When that is once broken, a govern-
 " ment is half dissolved: It shall, therefore, be my chief

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1689.
He informs
parliament,
that James
is failed.

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“ care never to give any parliament cause to distrust
 “ me ; and the best method I can chuse for that pur-
 “ pose, is never to expect any thing from them, but
 “ what it shall be their own interest to grant.” In
 the same answer, taking advantage of the zeal mani-
 fested in the address, he urged the parliament to ha-
 sten the preparations for war, the payment of the Dutch
 charges in the cause of the revolution, and the settle-
 ment of the revenue, which he now called by its pro-
 per name. To reduce Ireland, he demanded 20,000
 men : For the marine service, he said, a powerful fleet
 was necessary to be joined to the Dutch fleet, in order
 to guard the seas against France. His words, when
 he mentioned the Dutch, were pointed and strong,
 partly with the view of recovering his popularity a-
 mong his countrymen, and partly from sentiment.
 “ The Dutch, he said, “ had neglected their own
 “ safety, to relieve England from the extremity she
 “ was under. By this service they had drawn inevi-
 “ table destruction upon themselves, unless it was now
 “ repaid. The ruin of Holland was, by her enemies,
 “ intended as a step to that of England. They have
 “ really,” continued he, “ exhausted themselves to a
 “ degree which is not easily to be imagined ; and I
 “ am confident your generosity towards them will
 “ have as little bounds, as theirs had towards you.’”

Desires
 hearth-mo-
 ney to be
 abolished.

William, about the same time, took other wise mea-
 sures to gain the affections of his people. He sent a
 message to the commons, in which he desired, That,
 in settling the revenue, they would either take away,
 or regulate the tax of hearth-money ; a tax which
 produced 200,000 pounds a year ; but which, because
 the officers of the revenue, in levying it, were at li-
 berty to enter private houses when they pleased, was
 deemed

deemed inconsistent with the honours of English liberty. Yet even the popularity of this offer was made the subject of party-division in parliament *. The whigs insisted to relieve the people ; the tories contended, that their burden should be continued, under the pretence, that the hearth-money was a surer fund, upon which money could be borrowed, than any other ; but, in reality, with a view to disappoint the King of the credit of the measure. All free nations are generous and affectionate, at least for a season ; but the English above all others. The people had been accustomed to see their Princes pressing taxes upon them, instead of removing taxes ; and were sensibly affected with this well-timed generosity of their new sovereign. In the end, both houses of parliament presented an address of thanks to the King ; and the city of London followed the example. The preamble to the bill contained this generous expression : That the law of hearth-money was abolished, in order “ to erect a lasting monument of their Majesties goodness in every house in the kingdom.”

The King took another opportunity to discover his attention to the interests of liberty. Having caused some persons to be seized upon treasonable suspicions, he sent information of what he had done to the house of Lords, using these expressions : “ That, being extremely tender of doing any thing which the law did not fully warrant, he had acquainted their Lordships with what he had thought himself under a necessity of doing, for the public peace and security of the government.” In a monarchy, to revere the laws, is to respect the people. Both houses joined in
an

Makes an
apology for
seizing sus-
pected per-
sons.
March 1.

* Journals of the House of Commons, March 5th. Burnet, 2. pag. 13.

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Facsimony
of parlia-
ment.

an address of thanks for this delicacy of the King; and suspended for a month the *habeas corpus* act; a favour granted to administration for the first time, since the act had been passed. But, while most were satisfied of the necessity which seemed to call for the measure, and thought, that, in secret and dangerous conspiracies, the citizen had no right to complain, who lost his liberty for a short time, that it might be preserved for ever; others exclaimed, that a breach was made in the barrier of personal freedom, and that the worst precedents were often established in the reigns of the best Princes.

Notwithstanding all these attentions, however, the commons could not be induced to proceed in supplying the King's wants as he wished. Men had now become sensible that the dependence of Charles the Second, and the independence of his brother upon parliaments, had arisen from the straits of the one, and the affluence of the other. The whig-party, therefore, formed a regular plan * to keep the King dependent by his necessities; and the tories gave way to it, partly from the malicious pleasure of seeing him in difficulties, and partly from the prospect of giving him a disgust at the whigs. The commons first voted †, That the late King's revenue should be levied until the 29th of June ensuing; which implied, that it was expired by the vacancy of the throne: Afterwards ‡ they repealed it formally, and resolved that all the new grants, except that of the hereditary excise, should endure only for a year. They voted likewise, that the King's revenue || should be no more than L. 1,200,000, although the late King's had been

two

* Burnet, 2. 13.
March 11.

† Journals of the House of Commons,
‡ Ibid. July 24.

|| Ibid. April 27.

two millions; and although the accounts presented to the house shewed, that the neat expences of government amounted to more than 1,700,000. They restricted the civil list * to L. 600,000, and loaded it † with several new burdens. They provided ‡ pay for the Irish army only for six months, and gave L. 600,000 for the Dutch charges, and L. 700,000 § for the support of the navy; although the estimate of the one had been L. 700,000, and of the other ||, L. 1,100,000. Even these votes gave little security to the King, either for his own revenue, or for the national services: For, the commons ** postponed from time to time the assignment of funds: Some assignments were lost by differences with the house of Lords; others were dropped by the Commons: The bill for settling the King's revenue was not ordered till late in the session; nor did it pass this session at all: And the produce of the funds assigned, when joined together, was far short of the sums voted.

These things affected the King the more, because they injured public credit: Distrusting the stability of the present government, and observing the want of

It hurts public credit.

[C] confidence

* Journals of the House of Commons, March 20.

† Ibid. April 20. ‡ Ibid. March 23. § Ibid. April 25.

|| Ibid. March 26.

** The poll-bill did not pass the Commons till the 26th of April. The additional poll-bill was lost by a difference with the Lords, who claimed a right to tax themselves. The bill for one shilling in the pound upon estates and offices did not pass the Commons till the 17th of June, nor that for the additional customs till the 12th of July. This last was lost by a difference with the Lords upon their claiming a right to alter a money-bill. The bill for a tax upon ground-rents in London was dropped by the Commons. The excise-bill passed the Commons so late as the 15th of July: And that for establishing a fund for payment of the Dutch charges still later, to wit, on the 10th of August. Vid. Journals of the House of Commons of those dates.

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confidence in the King manifested by the Commons, the monied men * scrupled to advance upon the votes of parliament. Even while the Commons were laying several funds together † for the most salutary of national purposes, the care of the navy, they were obliged to impower a committee to receive proposals for a collateral security. The servants of government discovered the same distrust. A strong instance of this appeared at Chester. An officer ‡ having been sent with some supplies into Ireland, and ordered to receive L. 1000, in passing, from the custom-house of Chester, the collector paid L. 600 of the money; but refused the remainder, because he had not government-money in his hands. The dethroner of one King, the rival of another, the head of the protestant league, the ruler of two of the wealthiest nations in Europe, was refused the advance of L. 400, by one of his own custom-houses. In the mean time, the Dutch, the Scots, the Irish, the friends and enemies equally of William in England, the fleet that was equipped, the army that was raising, even the creditors of the two late Princes, were clamorous for money, which the King had not always to give. William found, that the head of a free people, whether a Stadtholder of Holland, or a King of England, must sometimes be as necessitous as his subjects §.

It

* Reresby, 341.
April 30.
August 12.

† Journals of the House of Commons,
‡ M'Kenzie, p. 54. Journals House of Commons,

§ From the correspondence of the Lords Justices of Ireland with Lord Nottingham, which is in the Paper-office, and from the manuscript correspondence of General M'Kay with King William and Lord Portland, it appears, that the governments of Ireland and Scotland were miserably distressed for money, during some years after the revolution.

It was in vain for the King to complain of the difficulties he found in his new government. Great bodies of his subjects answered, that their grievances were much greater. The tories represented, through the channel of Lord Nottingham, "That, however willing their party in general was to support the interests of the crown, they durst not discover their inclinations, but were obliged to concur in measures they disapproved; because their enemies in the house of Commons were permitted to keep axes and rods hanging over them." That Lord pointed out to the King, "the danger of a state of party in which the whigs were ready to continue old disturbances, and the tories to create new ones; the former to inflict punishments for offences committed in the late reigns, and the latter to escape from them: Offences which ought to be overlooked; because most of the leading men in the nation had been engaged in them; and because the best way to avoid future injuries was to bury the past in oblivion." The church of England insinuated, "That honour, and consistency with former professions, made it difficult for all her members openly and at once to acknowledge his title to the throne, however well pleased in private most of them might be with his possessing it." A suggestion which probably had the more weight with the King, because attention to the history of the nation for many centuries might have taught him, that oaths imposed by government, are slender securities. The dissenters complained, "That they were scarcely ranked among English subjects; for, their laity was excluded from views of ambition in the state, and their clergy in the church; the one by the necessity of taking the sa-

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1689.

The King's
grand
scheme for
composing
religious
and civil
differences.

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1689.

“ sacramental test, and the other by that of complying
 “ with the act of uniformity.” The sectaries ex-
 claimed, “ That they were even exposed to punish-
 “ ment by law for the sake of their consciences.”
 And these two last bodies of men reminded him of
 his promises in Holland, and of the terms of his ma-
 nifesto in England. The tories therefore pressed for
 an act of indemnity; the church for a dispensation
 from taking the oaths to the new government; the
 dissenters for a repeal of the sacramental test in fa-
 vour of all protestants, and an act of comprehension;
 and the sectaries for an act of toleration at least.

Although no man was more ready than William to
 take advantage of accidents, yet his natural genius,
 and the continual difficulties of his life, had accus-
 tomed him to act by system. He therefore entered into
 all these different views, and resolved to carry them
 into execution in one common plan. By this conduct
 he hoped to gain all parties. Perhaps too, the lan-
 guage so often repeated in public and private flatter-
 ies, that he was to deliver England from all her mis-
 eries and dissensions, might suggest the thought of sig-
 nalising the first year of his reign, by uniting all his
 people, and abolishing the distinctions of whig and to-
 ry, churchman and dissenter: Distinctions which, un-
 less so far as they affected himself, his natural magna-
 nimity and phlegmatic temper made him look upon
 with indifference.

The attack upon the sacramental test came from the
 King. As soon as he came to the throne, he had sig-
 nified in council his desire that all protestants should
 be indiscriminately capable of holding offices. Soon
 after he took an opportunity to give a more public
 declaration of his sentiments: For he went to parlia-
 ment,

His propo-
 sal for a re-
 peal of the
 sacramental
 test disap-
 pointed,
 March 16.

ment, while the Lords were adjusting the new oaths, and, in a speech, made use of these words: "As I doubt not you will sufficiently provide against papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all protestants that are willing and able to serve. This conjunction in my service will tend to unite you among yourselves, and to strengthen you against your common enemies." The speech was communicated previously only to Lord Halifax and Mr Hampden. The day before, a committee had been appointed * to add to the oath-bill, a clause for taking away the necessity of the sacramental test, Lord Halifax † contending for it beyond others. But, after this speech was heard, the clause was rejected by a great majority. A similar clause was offered as a rider ‡: It met with the same fate. A petition from the city of London to the house of Commons §, that the King might be at liberty to use indiscriminately the service of all his protestant subjects, was equally disregarded.

The King, in order to make up for the disappointment which the church-party was giving him, and to attain two ends at once, signified privately his wishes to dispense with the oaths of the clergy to government, provided the rest of his protestant-subjects were relieved from the sacramental test; recommended a dispensation to the house of Lords; and in the end got a clause put into the oath-bill which conferred upon him a power of giving dispensations; for, the

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Book I.

1689.

March 21.

Scheme for
dispensing
with the
oaths of the
clergy dis-
appointed.

* Journals of the House of Lords, March 15.
2. p. 8. Journals of the House of Lords, March 16.
March 23.

† Burnet,
‡ Ibid.

§ Journals of the House of Commons, June 25.

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clause did not oblige the clergy to take the oaths, unless tendered by the King and council. The church party embraced the favour presented to them, but took no notice of the return that was expected for it. The bill passed the house of Lords *.

Irritated by this, the dissenters in the house of Commons resolved to show as little delicacy to the consciences of churchmen, as the churchmen had shewn to theirs; and therefore, when they received the oath-bill from the Lords, they moved for an amendment to oblige the clergy to take the oaths before the first of August ensuing, without any excuse, under pain of suspension, and, in six months from that period, under pain of deprivation. The rest of the whigs joined the dissenters in the amendment; because, however jealous of the power of the King, they were still more jealous of any thing that could weaken the security of his title. The amendment † passed the Commons: When sent to the Lords it was rejected. Conferences ensued between the houses, but in vain; for rigour had produced obstinacy. All the allowance that could be obtained from the Commons for the prejudices of high-church men, was a power to the King to grant to any twelve clergymen who should be deprived for refusing to take the oaths, a third of their benefices during his pleasure.

During this struggle, the coronation oath to be taken by the King was adjusted in the house of Commons: Part of it was, that the King should maintain the protestant religion: The church-party added these words, "As established by law," in order to bind the King to the maintenance of the church of England

* Reresby, 327. Burnet, 2. p. 8. Journ. House of Lords, 16 March.
† Journals of the House of Commons, 13th and 15th April.

April 15.

land alone. The dissenters endeavoured to * preserve themselves from the consequence of this addition by another, "That nothing in the act should be understood to disable the King from assenting to any bill presented by parliament for altering any form or ceremony of the established church, provided her doctrines, a liturgy, and episcopal government, be preserved;" but were over-ruled.

All these things might have convinced the King, how fruitless as well as unpopular it was, to persevere in his scheme of obtaining favour for dissenters: But obstinate in what he thought to be right, he persisted in supporting a bill of comprehension, which, by his suggestion, had been brought into the house of Lords. And indeed many things promised it success. In the hour of common danger from popery, during the late reign, the church had made every advance to the presbyterian part of the dissenters, and among other things had proposed to them a scheme of comprehension, in which, by mutual concessions, both parties might have been united in principles and preferments. The bishops had testified their wishes for it to the late King, in the paper for which they had been sent to the Tower. Sancroft the Archbishop † had even gone some length in adjusting the terms of it. The applications of the church of England to the Prince of Orange, and the Prince's manifesto to the nation, had been full of it. Before the non-juring bishops retired from parliament ‡, they had, either from real or affected moderation, recommended an act of comprehension. The Earl of Nottingham, the chief of the high

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1689.

March 28.

He is disappointed in the bill of comprehension.

* Journals of the House of Commons, 28th March. † State Trials, Vol. V. 840. ‡ Burnet, 2. p. 6. Journals of the House of Lords, 23d March.

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high church party*, had brought the bill into the house of Lords. These things deceived the King into an opinion, that it was agreeable to the nation. But he was soon undeceived: A fierce contest arose in the house of Lords, whether scrupulous dissenters should be indulged in not kneeling at the sacrament: A more manly subject of debate ensued upon the question, whether any lay Lords should be joined to the spiritual ones in framing the terms of comprehension. The votes † were equal in both questions. The bill with difficulty passed the Peers, and was sent to the Commons. But, to the astonishment of the King and the people, the Commons, instead of proceeding upon it, instantly voted ‡ an address, in which they thanked the King for his care of the church, and reminded him that the misfortunes of preceding Princes had been owing to their want of it: Compliments and commemorations which were in reality reproaches! they concluded with begging him to summon a convocation of the clergy, “to be advised with in the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs.” Soon after the Lords concurred in the address. This application to put the interests of the dissenters into the hands of a convocation of their adversaries, the King answered with expressions of compliment equally insincere. He said he would call a convocation; but the time of calling it he kept indefinite, by adding, “He would do it as soon as might be.”

The King's success confined to the bill of toleration.

Of all the King's schemes for the reconciliation of his protestant subjects, he was successful in that only of a toleration. The bill for it passed both houses without

* Journals of the House of Lords, March 27.

† Ibid. 3d and 5th April.

‡ Journals of the House of Commons, April 9th and 13th.

without opposition, partly from the humanity and good sense of the nation, and partly because the church was thought to be sufficiently secured, by the disappointments which the King had received.

Although in history, the causes of events should be pointed out before the events themselves are related, yet a contrary method becomes sometimes necessary. There were various causes of these disappointments. The church-party was by far the most numerous in parliament; many being tories in the church, who were whigs in the state. A number of members, who had deserted their duty in parliament, returned, and took their seats during these debates, in order to protect the church from the attack, as they called it, which was making upon her altars. The assistance of the dissenters against popery, and in defence of liberty, was now no longer needed; and their short-lived connections with the late King were recollected. Ancient antipathies, with new jealousies, started up in the minds of the tories; and both were increased by the freedoms with which some of the whig Lords, particularly Macclesfield and Mordaunt, treated the church in their speeches and protests; * for even those could not bear to hear her treated with indecency, who had seldom attended to her tenets. Of the whig-party of the established communion, many looked upon matters of religion with indifference, and thought, that the toleration in favour of all opinions would be the more easily maintained, in proportion to the greater numbers who stood in need of it. Of the dissenters themselves, many of the presbyterians were afraid lest they should weaken the strength of their party, by dividing the dissenting interest, and the

[D]

more

PART II.
BOOK I.

1689.

Causes of
his disap-
pointments.

* Lords journals.

PART II.
Book I.

1689.

March 25.
Prepara-
tions made
in parlia-
ment to
disappoint
an indem-
nity.

Effects of
the King's
attempts to
remove dif-
ferences.

Breach
with the
church.

more rigid sectaries looked with envy at that participation of honours in church and in state, which the presbyterians were to obtain, and from which they themselves were to be excluded. There were a few in parliament too of firm minds and remoter views*, who, reflecting that the dissenting interest had been always as much attached to liberty, as the church of England had been to prerogative, thought that opposition and liberty would be buried in the same grave; and that great factions should be kept alive, both in church and in state, for the sake of the state itself.

William found equal difficulty in reconciling the political differences of his subjects. A few days after his speech in favour of dissenters, he sent a message to both houses, recommending an act of indemnity. The magnanimity of this measure could not be opposed with decency in public; both houses, therefore, gave him thanks in an address. But some members of the upper, and many more of the lower house, concerted measures in private to disappoint that mercy for which they thanked their sovereign in public.

William's attempts to end old divisions proved only the sources of new ones. He was repaid with the jealousy of the whigs for his compassion to tories, and with the anger of the church for his favour to dissenters. Many of the discontented whigs suggested to their party in private†, "That all Kings were fond
" of prerogative, and that the King wanted a pardon
" for the ministers of the late reigns, only with a view
" to employ servants, who would be as obsequious to
" him as they had been to former princes."

But the breach between the King and a great part
of

* Burnet, 2. p. 11.

† Burnet, 2. p. 15. Lord Delamer's works.

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1689.

of the church became notorious: Multitudes of her members first persuaded themselves, and then a great part of their followers, "That the church of England ran a greater risk in the present reign from dissenters, than it had done in the late one from Roman Catholics." Sancroft the Archbishop refused to crown the King. Five of the bishops who had been sent to the Tower by the late King, and three others, refused to take the oaths, or to give their attendance in parliament. Many hundreds of the inferior clergy imitated, in their own spheres, these examples of disobedience. The popularity of the five bishops became greater with their own party, from the contrast between their behaviour and that of Archbishop Lamplugh, and Bishop Sprat, two favourites of the old court, but who now concurred with the measures of the new one in all things: And hence, the greater animosity arose, between those of the clergy who conformed, and those who did not conform, to the new government. The nation entered into the disputes of the church; for, as all her members alledged the impulse of conscience to justify what they did, one half of the people honoured, and the other scoffed at, the principles they assumed. But the King stood astonished to find, that he reigned over subjects who were more fond of continuing divisions, than other nations are of bringing them to a period.

High spirited nations forget their own animosities only in those against other nations. The King resolved to gratify his natural hatred of France, and hoped to purchase domestic quiet to himself, by turning the rage of the nation upon the continual object of its aversion and jealousy. The parliament, though divided in every other thing, was unanimous in favour-

War declared against France

PART II.

Book I.



1689.

April 27.

ing the inclination of the King on this point. Both houses, therefore, in an address, assured him of their support in a war against France. The King could not conceal his joy when he received it. The words of his answer were short and unaffected, and therefore contained the sentiments of his heart: "The measures of France," he said, "amounted so much to a declaration of war, that a war on the part of England was not so much an act of choice, as of necessity." The Empire, Spain, Holland, the Elector of Brandenburg, united at the same time against France, and many other Princes prepared to join them. The hour seemed to approach when Lewis XIV. was to be called upon, to pay the forfeit he had long owed for his insults to all the nations around him. William is reported to have said to his confidants, that the day on which England joined the other powers of Europe against their common enemy, "was the first day of his reign." But as the late King was in Ireland, those who considered the state of things with less sanguine expectations, foresaw that a war on the part of England must chiefly be defensive. Others who examined the nature of free and trading nations, believed that an alliance between England and Holland, under one common Prince, could not fail to be the subject of jealousies to both.

A P P E N D I X

T O

CHAPTER I. OF PART II.

Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William, dated Amsterdam, March 8th, immediately after the revolution. —Anxious about his own fate—reminds King William of his services in the revolution.

IF I had not followed the advice of my friends rather than my own sense, I should not have been out of England at this time; for I thought I had served the public so importantly in contributing what lay in me towards the advancing of your glorious undertaking, that the having been in an odious ministry ought not to have obliged me to be absent: but nothing makes me repine so much at it, as that I could not give my vote for placing your Majesty on the throne, as I would have done with as much joy and zeal as any man alive; and do now most heartily wish you all the greatness and prosperity you deserve, which is to wish you more than any man ever had. I must now beg leave to offer to your Majesty my most humble acknowledgments for your justice and

and grace in ordering me to be set at liberty. I came into this country because I desired to be intirely in your power, and will continue in it till you forbid me, which I hope in charity your Majesty will never do. I should be sure you never would, if my condition were worthy of your consideration. Wherever I am in the world, your commands, as they ought, shall be most exactly obeyed by,

(*In King William's Cabinet.*)

Amsterdam, March 8.

Lady Sunderland to King William.—A similar letter.

THE relief I had by your Majesty's justice and grace from the sharpest apprehensions that ever I lay under, may, I hope, be allowed a sufficient plea for the liberty I now take to present you my most humble acknowledgments for that great charity of yours: I dare not impute it to any other motive; but however unfortunate my present circumstances are, I have this to support me, that my thoughts as well as actions have been, are, and I dare say ever will be, what they ought to be to your Majesty; and not only upon the account of the duty I now owe you, but long before your glorious undertaking, I can't but hope you remember how devoted I was to your service, which was founded upon so many great and estimable qualities in you, that I can never change my opinion, whatever my fortune may be in this world; and may I but hope for so much of your Majesty's favour, as to live quietly in a country where you have so much power, till it shall please God to let me end my days at my own home, I shall ever be most truly and humbly thankful. (*In King William's Cabinet.*)

Amsterdam, March 11.

Letter

*Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William—Anxious
about his fate.*

YOUR displeasure is of all things the most grievous.

I deserve pity upon many accounts. That I beseech you do withdraw, and forgive my failings, and dispose of me for ever as you shall think fit. God Almighty preserve you for ever.

Thursday.

(In King William's Cabinet.)

The above three letters show the difficult situation into which the double conduct of Lord and Lady Sunderland (as double-dealing always does) had thrown both themselves and King William.

In memoirs written by Sir John Lowther, first Lord of the Treasury to King William, part of which Sir James Lowther was so obliging as to show me, there is a very strong picture of the distresses which King William was under in England, from want of money.

But the strongest picture of all is in a letter in King William's cabinet, from Lord Godolphin to King William, without a date, but appearing from its contents to have been written in the year 1693. This letter, containing the true state of parties and of the king immediately after the revolution, and being a very remarkable one in many respects, I print the whole of it.

For

For the KING.

S I R,

HAVING, according to my duty, made it my business not only to give a constant attendance in the house all this sessions, but at all meetings to which I was called, to consider how to carry on your affairs; and having thereby had an opportunity to make several observations that may prove for your Majesty's service to know, I think myself obliged, with all imaginable submission, to lay them before your Majesty.

And it being generally discoursed as if your Majesty had a peace in prospect, you'll pardon me, Sir, if from those observations, in the first place, I presume to say how much, in my poor opinion, it will contribute to your future happiness if it should, if possible, be perfected before the meeting either of this or any other parliament.

When your Majesty considers the present state of the kingdom, and the factions that are in it, you'll find that the two great points that require more especially your care, are how to manage the parties soe as to maintain yourself against your enemies abroad, and at the same time so to preserve your authority at home, that the necessity of doing the one may not bring you to such circumstances that it will be impossible for you to keep the other; and this task is more difficult, because the toreyes, who are friends to prerogative, are so mingled with Jacobites, that they are not to be confided in during the war; and the Whigs, who are, for that reason, of necessity to be employed to support your cause against the common enemy, will at the same time endeavour all
they

they can to make use of that opportunity to lessen your just power. And let them pretend what they will to your Majesty, the several instances they have given this sessions of their intentions that way, puts this matter out of all doubt to any person who has taken the least pains to observe them, and it's beyond all dispute manifest, that though they will give money to keep out King James, yet they'll never give you one vote to support your just right in any point where (what they please to call) the interest of the people is concerned.

This being the condition of your partye, which I presume your Majesty will allow to be too true, I am confident, when you look into the funds that are given for the service of this year, and consider how much they lessen and incumber your hereditary revenue; and when you know, Sir, that if the war continue, it will be impossible to save the customs (which is the only tax now left you can expect will ever be given for a longer time than from year to year) from being likewise pawned for five years at least: I presume to say, Sir, these things considered, your Majesty will be of opinion that it is more your interest, with relation to your affairs at home, to have a peace this summer, than ever it was since you sat upon the throne of England; and that if you have it not, as things have been managed, the next year's expences will so anticipate those branches of the revenue that ever have been kept hitherto for the ordinary support of the government, that it will be scarce possible that your Majesty should ever see an easy day, though it should please God hereafter to give you such a peace as yourself could wish: and the ground-work on which I build this assertion is, that it ever was and ever will be impracticable for any king of England to be the least happy, who must depend upon a parliament every year to give him a mil-

[E]

lion

lion of money for his common and necessary support; and that this will be your Majesty's circumstance, if the war be another year continued, will, I fear, by the following account of expence of this year, and by the guess or computation of what may be the funds for the next, appear to be very near a demonstration.

The funds for 94.

Land-tax, besides what is paid thereout to the defect of the poll, to this year's charge, - - - -	1,500,000
2d, Ninepense upon the excise granted for 16 years, to commence from May, 97.; the salt to make good the fund in the mean time, to rais by way of lottery for this year's servis, - - -	1,000,000
3d, Ninepense upon the excise, granted for 99 years, to commence from May, 97.; the tunag being to supply the same in the mean time, to rais upon perpetual interest and lives for this year's servis,	1,500,000
Quarterly poll given for - -	700,000
Hackney-coaches to be licens'd for 21 years, - - - -	100,000
Paper act for four years, - -	230,000
	<hr/>
	5,030,000

Note, The 2 ninepenses granted this year upon the excise, with that which was last year given upon the same revenues, for raising a million of money upon lives, are allowed to sink the hereditary excise above 250,000 per annum; and the remainder being made a collateral security, that the salt and tunage shall answer 280,000 per

per annum, till May 1695, will, in probability, be thereby sunk about 100,000 a-year more for that; from the salt branch must not hereafter be expected more then 300,000 per annum; though formerly it yielded when the half crown stood singly, (and that is only hereditary) 650,000 l. a-year. I take it for granted that if the war continue, it will be impossible for your Majesty to lessen your charge; for as the confederats must take it ill if the land forces are not the same, for the parliament will never suffer the navy to be decreased; therefore I compute the money necessary to be given to be likewise 5,000,000.

A guesses at the funds for 95.

Four shillings in the pound upon land, unless it be more equally affect, (and that the major part of the house will never allow) will not yield above 1,800,000, and of that then will probably be anticipated by the clauses of credit given this year about 600,000; so that to next year's charge must not be expected more than

-	-	-	-	1,200,000
---	---	---	---	-----------

The pole can't possibly be repeated next year, in regard it will be in collection in April next, nor more can be got upon trade, since the tunage is now granted.

There can be no more money raised by protests for want of funds, there being no renew out of which to make any, but the small remainder of the hereditary excise.

For that not only the customs must be pawn'd for a considerable time, but a further charge upon land, and several heads of excises must be brought to make up the

sum wanting ; and when the customs are so pawn'd, the hereditary excise part lessened for ever, and an other part made a colatral security for three years, to its prejudice 100,000 per annum ; and the ninepence (that used to be given to the crown in cases of necessity) settled two of them for 99 years, and the third for 19 years to come, nothing is more plain, than that your Majesty has not a renew of your own to depend upon at present of above 400,000 per annum, nor will there be any other in prospect when the usual ones are disposed on as abovesaid ; for that computing the necessary charge of the government, in time of peace, at 1,400,000 a-year, which is the lowest it has been estimated at, a million must constantly be raised out of your subjects pockets, by extraordinary ways for your support ; and how uneasy that will make your government to yourself, I leave your Majesty to judge. I shall only add, that it is manifestly the designs of some people to keep necessities always upon you, and it was from such that the reversion of the 600,000 upon the East India Company, and the resolutions to charge the customs this year, proceeded. And nothing, I can assure your Majesty, prevented the latter but the warmth you spoke with on that subject to the secretary.

A new parliament will not help this matter ; for let who will be the givers, there will remain still the same ways of giving ; and let what sort of men soever be chosen, I dare answer for't, a majority of them will be much rather for mortgaging the revenue of the crown, than their own land ; and this makes me have reason to fear your Majesty will never again have such an offer as was made you this session ; and refused by those that pretended to be your friends, and soon after repented that it was ever tendered, by those that were your ene-

mys ;

mys ; when, upon thinking on't more thoroughly, they found of what infinite advantage it would have been to your government.

But, Sir, since I have mentioned a new parliament, and knowing you will be prefs'd by the whiggs to have one, being sanguine enough to imagine they shall be able to get a greater majority in the next than they can pretend to in this, you'll pardon me for troubling you with a word or two on that subject : and in my humble opinion it seems to be unquestionably your interest, if the war continue, to continue the parliament ; and if the war ends, to let that end with it. And my reasons for this opinion are :

1st, These are the same men that engaged your Majesty in the war, and are obliged by their votes to support you in it.

2dly, The experience you have that this house will do it, ought to be an unanswerable argument against parting with it, for a new one, when you do not know whether they will be for you or not.

3dly, The great reason that's given for dissolving this, being, because it's said they have an ill reputation, ought not to sway in this affair, but the contrary ; since that is only a scandal raised by the enemys of the government ; and the supporting your Majesty being the crime they lay to their charge, your Majesty's friends ought to esteem them for that, for which they are hated by their enemys.

4thly, Your Majesty has for this 4 years last past been giving all employments to members of the house, which though it has not signified much in any party business, yet in the grand affair of carrying on the war, they have been of mighty service ; for there is but very few instances of any of them but which upon occasion appear

to be hearty for your government, in relation to the foreign dispute, and many of these will be left out in a new choice, which will be no small prejudice to your Majesty, considering that most of your enemys in the house of Commons are made so, because they have not places like the rest.

But what's the most dangerous consequence of a new election is, that it will throw the ballance too much on the one side or the other; for either the whiggs will, according to their expectation, get it into their hands intirely, and then I fear your Majesty will think the impositions they'll be laying upon you unreasonable; or otherwise the torys will have the ascendant, and then it's to be doubted that they, in revenge to the whiggs, will, for the major part, be governed by the artifices of the Jacobites, and from such a misfortune nothing less than destruction can proceed.

Whereas, as the house is now constituted, the whiggs are not strong enough to make use of the necessities of your government as much as they are inclined to do; neither are the torys numerous enough to resent your Majesty's favouring the whiggs. Sir, upon the whole, I shall presume to conclude as I began, that the parliament that begun with the war, should likewise end with it, and not before.

And if it pleased God to grant your Majesty an honourable peace, and you would then be pleased to sett up for a party of your own, and lett all people see that if they expected your favour they must depend upon you for it, and not lett any one hope for promotion for being true to a faction, but by serving of you; I presume to say that the war being ended, a new parliament called, and such measures pursued, your Majesty would quickly find, that the jacobites would turn moderate churchmen,

churchmen, and loyall subjects, and the whiggs much more obsequious courtiers, and easier servants than now they are.

I shall conclude with begging your Majesty's pardon most humbly for the trouble I have presumed to give you; and I am persuaded if you knew with what zeal this is intended for your service, you would not refuse to grant it to,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most dutifull
and obedient subject and servant.

Remark.] My reason for imputing this letter to Lord Godolphin is, that I found it in the bundle of Lord Godolphin's letters, and there was written on the label of the bundle these words: "57 letters from Lord Godolphin," and in the bundle there were 56, besides this one. People who have seen the letter differ whether it be his hand-writing. The orthography is, in several words, different from his common spelling. It is not signed by him; but this circumstance rather aids the presumption of his having writ it: for all King William's other ministers signed their letters to their master; whereas, of the other 56 letters written by Lord Godolphin, there is only one signed by him.

While King William was engaged in his project of reconciling the religious differences of England, he was at great pains to find out the proportions between churchmen, dissenters, and papists. In his chest there is the following curious report in consequence of an enquiry upon that head,

The

The NUMBER of FREEHOLDERS in ENGLAND.

	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.
Province of Canterbury,	2,123,362	93,151	11,878
of York,	353,892	15,525	1,978
In both	2,477,254	108,676	13,856
Conformists,		2,477,254	
Nonconformists,		108,676	
		2,585,930	
Papists,		13,856	
In all England,		2,599,786	
According to which account, the proportion of			
Conformists to Non-conformists, is			$22\frac{4}{7}$ to one.
Conformists to Papists, is			$178\frac{10}{11}$
Conformists and Non-conformists together to Papists, is			$186\frac{2}{3}$

PAPISTS in the several provinces above the age of 16.

Canterbury,	-	-	142
London,	-	-	2,069
Winchester,	-	-	968
Rochester,	-	-	64
Norwich,	-	-	671
Lincoln,	-	-	1,244
Ely,	-	-	14
Chichester,	-	-	385
Salisbury,	-	-	548
Exeter,	-	-	298
Bath and Wells,	-	-	176

Worcester,	-	-	-	719
Coventry and Litchfield,	-	-	-	1,949
Hereford,	-	-	-	714
Gloucester,	-	-	-	124
Bristol,	-	-	-	199
Petersborough,	-	-	-	163
Oxford,	-	-	-	358
St David's,	-	-	-	217
Landaff,	-	-	-	551
Bangor,	-	-	-	19
St Afaph,	-	-	-	275
Total of these,				<hr/> 11,867

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Canterbury,

	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.	Conformists to Non-conformists, as 1 to	Conformists to Papists, as 1 to	Conformists to both, as 1 to	Non-conformists to Papists, as 1 to
Canterbury,	59596	6287	143	9 R 3013	419 R 98	9 R 1735	44 R 39
London,	263385	20893	2069	12 R 12669	127 R 622	11 R 10805	10 R 201
Winchester,	150937	7904	968	19 R 761	155 R 823	17 R 113	8 R 160
Rochester,	27886	1752	64	15 R 1606	445 R 46	15 R 646	27 R 24
Norwich,	168760	7934	671	21 R 2146	251 R 339	19 R 465	11 R 553
Lincolne,	215077	10001	1244	21 R 5056	172 R 1109	19 R 1422	8 R 49
Ely,	30917	1416	14	21 R 1181	2208 R 5	21 R 887	101 R 2
Chichester,	49164	2452	385	20 R 124	129 R 399	17 R 935	6 R 142
Salisbury,	103671	4075	548	25 R 1796	189 R 99	22 R 1964	7 R 239
Exeter,	207570	5406	298	38 R 2142	696 R 162	36 R 2326	18 R 42
Bath and Wells,	145464	5856	176	24 R 4920	826 R 88	24 R 696	33 R 48
Worcester,	37489	1325	719	28 R 389	52 R 101	18 R 697	1 R 606
Coventry & Litchfield,	155720	5042	1949	30 R 4460	79 R 1749	22 R 1918	2 R 1144
Hereford,	65942	1076	714	61 R 606	92 R 254	36 R 2602	1 R 362
Glocester,	64734	2363	128	26 R 296	505 R 84	25 R 2449	18 R 59
Bristol,	66200	2200	199	30 R 200	332 R 132	27 R 1487	11 R 11
Peterborough,	91444	2031	167	43 R 1961	591 R 111	40 R 1684	12 R 125
Oxford,	38812	1122	358	34 R 664	108 R 148	26 R 1332	3 R 48
St. David's,	68242	2368	217	28 R 1938	314 R 104	26 R 1032	12 R 198
Landaff,	39248	719	551	54 R 422	71 R 147	30 R 1148	1 R 168
Bangor,	28016	247	19	113 R 95	1474 R 10	105 R 86	13
St. Asaph,	45088	635	275	71 R 3	163 R 263	49 R 498	2 R 85
	2123362	93104	11876				

There are in the province of Canterbury 23740 papists, half of these is under the age of 16 years, viz. 11870; a seventh part of these are aged, and above 3391. Taking out of the said number of papists the two last sums, which make in all 15261; there remains then 8479, of which the one half is women: there remains therefore in the province of Canterbury, fitt to bear arms, 4239 papists.

The province of York bears a sixth part of the taxes, and hath in it a sixth part of the people as that of Canterbury hath, (viz.) 3956, whereof half are under the age of 16, (viz.) 1978; and a seventh part above 60, (viz.) 565; and of the aforesaid sixth part one half is women.

The total therefore of the papists of the province of York fitt to bear arms is 701; joyning which to the total of the papists in the province of Canterbury fitt to bear arms, makes the total of the papists throughout all England fitt to bear arms to be 4940.

There being every where as many under the age of 16 as above it, the total of the whole papists in the whole province is 23740.

An Account of the Province of Canterbury.

In the taking of these accounts we find these things observable:

1. That many left the church upon the late indulgence who before did frequent it.
2. The sending for these enquirys hath caused many to frequent the church.

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3. That

3. That they are Walloons chiefly that make up the number of dissenters in Canterbury, Sandwich, and Dover.
4. That the presbyterians are divided, some of them come some time to church, therefore such are not wholly dissenters upon the 3d enquiry.
5. A considerable part of dissenters are not of any sect whatsoever.
6. Of those that come to church very many do not receive the sacrament.
7. At Ashford and at other places we find a new sort of hereticks, after the name of Muggleton, a London taylor, in number 30.
8. The rest of the dissenters are presbyterians, anabaptists, independants, quakers, about equal numbers, only 2 or 3 called self-willers professedly.
9. The heads and preachers of the several factions are such as had a great share in the late rebellion.

B O O K II.

THE late King's arrival in Ireland.—State of that Kingdom.—The different Advices he gets.—Siege of Londonderry.—Clamours in England on Account of it.—Sea-fight of Bantry-Bay.—Continuation of the Siege.—Barbarity of Marshal Rosen.—The Siege raised.—Fate of the Garrison.—Proceedings of the Irish Parliament.—Exercise of Government in Ireland.—James's own Conduct.—Lord Dundee's Exploits.—Manners of the Highlanders, with their Causes.—Their Dress, Armour, and manner of War.—Battle of Killikranksy.—Fate of Lord Dundee's Officers.

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THE first hostilities between France and England appeared in Ireland: For, while England was rent with factions, Lord Dundee meditating a civil war in Scotland, and one half of Europe animated against the other, to support or depress the cause of the late King, that Prince had sailed from France, and arrived upon the 12th of March at Kingsale in Ireland. Before he quitted France, he had written to the Emperor to ask that assistance, which, he said, one Catholick Prince might expect from another in a cause common to all princes. The unhappy find few friends! The Emperor's answer under the common cover of affected pity, was filled with reproaches of past misconduct, and of his

The late King's arrival in Ireland.

March 12.

French

PART II. French friendship ; and, to make the affront more p
 Book II. blic, both letters were printed. But James had m
 1689. with mortifications which were still more humbling
 The preparations for his enterprize, and even the pr
 priety of the enterprize itself, having become the su
 jects of intrigue * among the French ministers, he,
 whom a nation of freemen had been accustomed to bo
 hung long, in uncertain hopes, upon the servants of a
 other, perhaps not unmindful of his own inattentio
 upon former occasions, to the sufferings of others. Bu
 the French King, feeling from sympathy of rank, for h
 unhappy guest, what no minister could, gave orders
 hasten the preparations for his voyage. James was a
 tended by a multitude of British and Irish nobility an
 officers who had adhered to his fortunes, 2500 soldier
 of the same nations, and about an hundred French o
 ficers. Marshal Rosen commanded the expedition
 The Count D'Avaux, who had so often, when ambassi
 dor in Holland, given warning in vain, of the Prince
 Orange's intentions, now accompanied James as amb
 sador from France ; in his person, a sad monitor of pa
 errors, and, in his office, an omen of future misfortunes
 The French King supplied James with 400,000 crown
 in money, and with equipage of every kind befitting h
 dignity. The same Prince offered to send with him
 force of French troops. But, with a magnanimity whic
 he was found afterwards incapable of supporting, h
 answered, † “ I will recover my own dominions wit
 “ my own subjects, or perish in the attempt.” Lewi
 XIV. who deemed it to be part of a great monarch
 character to study his compliments, and who mingle
 the grand and the pleasant in all his sayings of cerem
 ny, said to his friend at taking leave of him : “ The be
 “ wil

* Burnet, 2. 17.

† Sir John Kersey, 333.

wish I can form for your service, is, that I may never see you again."

James found the appearances of things in Ireland equal to his wishes; Tyrconnel and Lord Lieutenant devoted to him; his old army steady, and a new one raised, making together 30,000 foot, and 8000 horse; the protestants over the greatest part of Ireland disarmed; the province of Ulster alone in disobedience; the papists in arms, frantic with joy, enthusiasm, and the prospect of independence upon England; no English troops in the kingdom, no fleet on the coasts; his reception at King'sale and Cork cordial, and his public entry into Dublin magnificent. Upon intelligence of James's intention to come speedily to Ireland, Tyrconnel had sent Colonel Hamilton, the same man who had forfeited his honour to King William, against the protestants in the North; for, these having at last, in March, received encouragement from King William, had proclaimed him and his consort. Hamilton's forces drove their opponents from post to post, and gave them so complete a defeat at Drummore, that it was called, in the Irish manner of expression, the *rout of Drummore*. After this, most of those who were ill affected to the government of James retired into Scotland and England, or hid themselves, or accepted of written protections, from their enemies. The bravest, however, of the protestant interest*, to the number of 10,000, gathered together round Londonderry, resolved to make their last stand at that place for their religion and liberty. A few also rallied themselves at Inniskilling; and, after the first panic was over, became more numerous by the junction of others.

James continued, some time after his arrival, irresolute what use to make of this prosperous state of his affairs.

Different
advice given to
James.

* McKenzie, p. 24.

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fairs. Lord Dundee * pressed him from Scotland, "To
 " embark with part of his army for that country, in
 " which there were no regular troops †, except four re-
 " giments, which King William had lately sent down;
 " where his presence would fix the wavering, intimidate
 " the timid, and where hosts of shepherds would start
 " up warriors at the first wave of his banner upon their
 " mountains." From England ‡, and by many too who
 " were with him in Ireland, he was advised, "To re-
 " pair instantly to England with all the forces he could
 " waft over. In vain was it for him to consume time
 " in completing the conquest of Ireland, nine-tenths of
 " which were already under his dominion: A country
 " dispirited by a subjection that had endured for centu-
 " ries, and which, from the remoteness of its situation
 " from the rest of Europe, nature herself had determi-
 " ned should always follow, never command the fortunes
 " of England. Trifling was the gain in subduing the
 " remaining part; but important would be the loss in
 " its consequences, if his new arms should meet with a
 " disgrace. While France threatened; while England
 " was in open discontent; while Scotland nourished a
 " secret fire, which, like the silence before thunder, was
 " only the prelude to more dangerous mischiefs; while
 " Ireland was eager to waste her blood and her treasures
 " in his cause; now was the time to shake a throne new,
 " unsettled, usurped, and to overwhelm a people trem-
 " bling always at the first sound of invasion, but gather-
 " ing strength, and spirit, and union, to meet it with
 " courage when too long delayed. If he should fail
 " of success, it was more glorious for him, in one
 " great contest, to fail, or even to fall, in the heart of
 " his

* Story, p. 2. pag. 5.

† Lord Balcarras.

‡ Burnet, 2. 18.

his kingdom, in the eyes of his native subjects, pitied
and respected even by those who conquered him, than
to wage war at a distance like a fugitive, wasting the
provinces, and weakening the strength of his country.”

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From a fatality which attended this Prince from his cradle to his grave, he rejected both these counsels, and followed those of the French who surrounded him: French counsels to an English monarch, and therefore the worst. The French had instructions from their own court to protract the civil war, and to secure the possession of Ireland, in order that from thence France might be enabled to annoy England. But their intentions were covered from James under specious pretences. They remonstrated, “How dangerous it would be to oppose forces mostly new levied, and undisciplined, to the veteran troops which the Prince of Orange had brought from abroad with him; to the national forces of a people accustomed to believe all nations to be inferior to them in all things, but chiefly in courage; Irish to English, the conquered to the conquerors. By carrying the war into Ulster, and laying siege to the rebellious towns there, he might train his troops to the habits, the fatigues, the discipline, the arts of war, and discover the nature of that army upon which his fate was to depend. To trust his person to the Scots, who, forgetting all the ancient honours of their nation, had betrayed his father for money, when he threw himself into their arms for protection, and after loading their present King with their flatteries, had gone beyond the English rebels, by excluding even his son, and his son’s posterity, from their throne, was to rush upon his destruction. If he landed in the low parts of their country, he would find himself encompassed by men, who thought, that, in fighting

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“ against their King, they fought for their God : If in
 “ the Highlands, barren would be his conquests ; his
 “ army must fall inglorious, consumed by famine, wan-
 “ dering from hill to hill like the mists of the country,
 “ and conquered even by the elements. To invade
 “ England with a small force, which he had not been
 “ able to keep with a great one, would be equally im-
 “ prudent : The Prince of Orange had not made his in-
 “ vasion in that manner. To carry a great force thither
 “ was impossible at present ; for, before transports could be
 “ gathered together sufficient for shipping an army, the
 “ English fleet would be on the coast of Ireland, and the
 “ French fleet was already retired to its own. Even al-
 “ though his army could be landed in England, his only
 “ approach was upon the western side of the island, be-
 “ cause he had no shipping for a voyage more distant ;
 “ and, if he landed on that side, his troops would be ob-
 “ liged to march many days, through countries inclosed
 “ and woody, where the very felling of the trees across
 “ the roads, would prove barriers against their advan-
 “ cing. The gain of a battle could not ensure his suc-
 “ cess ; the enemy might still dispute every pass, and
 “ army after army be raised against him as he slow-
 “ ly advanced. A single defeat was inevitable ruin ;
 “ retreat, even flight, impossible ; the Duke of Mon-
 “ mouth’s fate might perhaps be his fate. But in
 “ Ireland he could rise strong from defeat, and, even in
 “ the despair of religion and party, find resources which
 “ could only terminate with the passions of men. The
 “ conquest of Ulster, which contained only a few coun-
 “ try gentlemen with their tenants, and a rabble of
 “ cowardly mechanics, was easily accomplished : But it
 “ would add reputation to his arms : And, if that nor-
 “ thern province were in his hands, he could waft what

“ forces he pleased in a few hours into Scotland. By
 “ completing the conquest of Ireland, a way would be
 “ paved, slow perhaps, but sure, to his throne. From
 “ thence his old armies could be recruited, and new
 “ ones raised : There he could receive succours of fleets,
 “ and forces, and treasures, from France, wait the
 “ event of Dundee’s exploits in Scotland, of insurrec-
 “ tions in England, of invasions from abroad into both
 “ of these kingdoms, and derive advantages even from
 “ the accidents of fortune. The English, harassed by
 “ the stoppage of their trade, by the weight of taxes, by
 “ the miseries of a civil war of which no end was to be
 “ seen, would curse that invader whom they had lately
 “ blessed as their deliverer. Even the national levity
 “ would make that people return to their natural sove-
 “ reign, supported by near two millions of Irish sub-
 “ jects, who had, of their own accord, returned to his
 “ brother, when an exile in Flanders, unattended and
 “ friendless.”

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Persuaded by these arguments, James took his mea-
 sures for a continuance in Ireland. He called a parlia-
 ment to meet him at Dublin on the 7th day of May, as
 if this mock state, in a province whose parliaments had
 hitherto been little considered, could supply the want of
 real sovereignty. And, in the mean time, quitting Dub-
 lin as soon as the spring would permit, he went to lay
 siege to Londonderry : a town of small importance at
 other times, but rendered famous by the defence which
 it made now, and the consequences which that defence
 had upon the future operations of the war.

Amidst the difficulties which King William had, to find
 officers in Ireland whom he could trust, he had appointed
 Colonel Lundie to be governor of Londonderry : A man
 whose fidelity was so little known, that the officer sent

Siege of
 London-
 derry.

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to him from England with the stores of war, was ordered * not to deliver his charge until Lundie had taken the oaths in his presence to the new government. The precaution was necessary, but weak: For Lundie, having been one of Tyrconnel's officers, had quitted the interests of King James, only with a view to serve them the more effectually. Lundie, as James's army advanced towards Londonderry, abandoned pass after pass †, sometimes with feeble, and sometimes with no defence; and, at last, upon the 13th April, took refuge in the town.

Two days before King James could overtake Lundie, two regiments, under the command of Colonel Richards and Colonel Cunningham, arrived from England in the lake which makes a communication between the sea and the town. Their orders having been discretionary, to land the troops or not, according as the service should require, they offered to join Lundie: They urged him to march out of the town, and defend one of the passes which was still left. Lundie wrote them an ambiguous and contradictory answer: In the beginning of his letter, he desired them to land: In the end of it ‡, he told them the place was untenable, and referred them for particulars to the officer who carried the letter: The officer delivered them orders not to land the men, but to come to town themselves with some of their officers, in order to attend a council of war. To this council Lundie called only two of his own officers, thirteen of those belonging to the two regiments, and the town clerk, whose assistance was necessary to frame the minutes of council §. To these persons he painted, in the strongest colours,

* M'Kenzie, p. 24. Journals House of Commons, August 12.

† Walker, M'Kenzie, passim. Journ. House of Commons, Aug. 12.

‡ M'Kenzie, p. 25. § Ibid.

lours, the weakness of the town in military stores, in defences, in provisions: He even averred, that, to his own knowledge, there was not subsistence in it for ten days. The council came to a resolution, opposed only by Richards, not to land the regiments, and that all the officers should privately withdraw from the town. The two Colonels, with some of their officers, retired from the council to their ships. Lundie next called a meeting of the town-council, where it was resolved to send messengers to King James, with an offer to surrender the town next day.

It was intended to keep the result of these councils secret. But, next morning, the town-clerk, convening a number of the people, informed them of every thing that had passed. The inhabitants and many of the soldiers of the garrison crying out, "They were betrayed" by those who were bound to defend them," rose in a fury against the governor, the town-council, and such of the officers as they suspected: They shot one of the officers*; they wounded another. Hence the highest uproar and division; for, while some were framing the terms of surrender, others were planting guns on the wall: In one place, the multitude was pressed to yield to necessity; in another, voices were heard calling to fire upon those who proposed it.

During this state of public distraction, James was seen slowly advancing with his army, to take possession of a town which had sent messengers to receive him: A sight which increased the fears of the one party, and the rage of the other. At this instant, † advice was brought, that, on the opposite side of the town, Captain Murray, a brave officer, conspicuous in person, and known to all, was advancing with impetuosity, at the head of a body
of

* McKenzie, p. 27.

† Ibid. p. 28.

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of horse, to prevent the surrender. Lundie sent him orders to retire from the view of the inhabitants. But great numbers stretching their arms and bodies from the walls, and calling upon him by name, and upon all his followers whom they knew, to advance to their relief, he entered the place. In broken speeches he called to the multitude who surrounded him as soon as he passed the gate, to remember glory, safety, religion, their country, themselves, their posterity, with other topics which natural passion dictated, or the present exigency required. He pointed to different persons to secure the gates, to run to arms, to mount the walls, to point the guns. He directed all those whose voices were for defending the town, to distinguish themselves * by tying a white cloth round the left arm. From thence he hastened to Lundie, then sitting in a council †, whom he tried, but in vain, to soothe with flattery, or rouse by reproaches. In the mean time the multitude, kindled by the ardour of Murray's spirit, rushed to obey the orders they had received, fired upon King James, killed an officer by his side, and obliged him to retire.

When these violent actions were over, and the inhabitants reflected there were no regular troops among them, fear and consciousness of what they had done, and what they were to expect, seized them: They pressed for the landing of the regiments: They offered to submit to authority: They kept even Lundie a kind of prisoner in his own house to prevent his departure. Embracing those officers whom chance threw in their way, they conjured them not to abandon them to the rage of an affronted enemy: They flattered, encouraged, reproached, menaced, but in vain. The remaining officers of the two regiments, with many officers of the garrison, withdrew,

* M'Kenzie, p. 29.

† Ibid.

withdrew, and sailed to England. The less valiant part of the multitude, following their example, fled from the town. Lundie stole off with a load on his back: A disgraceful disguise, and suited to the man who bore it! About 7500 militia in arms remained to defend the place against an enemy, once their sovereign, and at the head of 20,000 regular forces.

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Men abandoned to themselves, often exert a vigour, which, while they trusted to others, they knew not they possessed. The town was weak in its fortifications *, having only a wall eight or nine feet thick along the face of the rampart, a ditch, eight bastions, and some out-works lately thrown up, and of little consequence. It was weaker in its artillery; there being no more than twenty serviceable guns on the works. Near 20,000 unarmed† hands increased the numbers, and diminished the strength of the place. But its best defence lay in the minds of its defenders: Men refined from all the dross of their party, and possessed of the valour and enthusiasm of those Scottish ancestors from whom most of the inhabitants of Ulster are descended. They offered the command of the place to Captain Murray: With the ingenuous frankness which is the common attendant of true courage, he answered, "He was better fitted for offensive than defensive war;" and offered to take the command of the horse. Major Baker was chosen governor: With that modesty, which likewise accompanies true courage, he begged to have an assistant. The garrison, under the impressions of religion which danger incites, chose Mr Walker, a clergyman, to assist him; a man who hid a great and warlike spirit under the most peaceful of professions. These men formed the garrison and inhabitants into a number of regiments proportioned to that of

* Walker, p. 5.

† Ibid. p. 5, and 16. Ibid. M'Kenzie, p. 30.

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of the bastions: And, in order to create the greater emulation, they assigned different parts of the works to different regiments*, which they alone were to defend. The besieged repaired their fortifications and artillery, as well as the shortness of the time would permit. They alarmed King James by continual sallies in the day, in the night, in time of meals, in rain, in mist. They destroyed his works; or, where success failed them, they returned contented that they had harassed his troops. These sallies they made more formidable by a practice which pedants in the profession of arms would have disapproved†. When a sally was to be made, the command was offered to whatever officer would undertake it; and the officer offered the service to whatever soldiers would attend him: Hence competition among the officers: Hence confidence among the soldiers, who reasoned upon the merits of those who commanded them, and followed those only in sudden services under whom they were sure to conquer. Murray flew from man to man, and from body to body. Walker assembled them at sermons. Murray cried out, “That it was not a few military evolutions, nor the movements of arms by rule, the mere parade and foppery of war, which made soldiers; but strong bodies, stronger minds, the contempt of dangers and death: Or if, in regular fields of battle, disciplined troops had the advantage over a militia, useless was that advantage here, where the defenders fought behind walls; a situation in which those who could bear most fatigue, and durst stand longest to their posts, must in the end prevail in the contest.” Walker pointed to their churches, to the sky: “These were the holy fanes, from which their enemies were to drive them, if they survived, with disgrace.”

* Walker, p. 16.

† M'Kenzie, p. 32, 33.

“ disgrace : This the asylum prepared for them by their
 “ God, if they died with glory in his cause.” The
 young animated the old : The old gave counsel, gave
 praises to the young : All were fired by hatred of the
 Catholic religion, enthusiasm for their own, and the
 dread of a vengeance proportioned to both. Perhaps
 too the spirit of competition, and the glory of defending
 a place which regular troops had abandoned, was equal
 to any of their other incitements. James continued his
 attacks unsuccessfully during eleven days ; and then went
 to Dublin to meet his parliament. He left the army
 under Hamilton to continue the siege.

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Upon the report of these things in England, great
 murmurs arose against government, for leaving Ireland
 so defenceless. Pity for the brave defenders of London-
 derry, deserted by the soldiers who were sent to defend
 them, mingled itself with discontent. The people, in
 their imaginations, transported themselves into the town,
 saw the famine, and heard the cries of the besieged cal-
 ling in vain for help and for vengeance. Their suffer-
 ings and dangers were augmented by distance ; and up-
 on that account, greater honours were paid to them.
 The complaints of the public turned next upon the offi-
 cers of the fleet, “ who cowardly, or inactive, or treach-
 “ erous, (it was said) had left their ships to rot in har-
 “ bours, while the navies of France had been riding
 “ triumphant on the ocean, and wasted a Prince, an
 “ army, and civil war, into the dominions of her
 “ enemy.” These complaints against the navy were in-
 creased by intelligence received, that the French had
 made another embarkation of stores, and some troops,
 for the service of their allies in Ireland. Admiral Her-
 bert was therefore dispatched from Spithead, in quest
 of the French fleet which was to conduct the embarka-
 tion ;

Clamours
 in England
 on account
 of London-
 derry.

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Sea-fight of
Bantry-bay.

tion; and orders were given for all the ships of war which were at hand to attend him, and for others to follow as fast as they came into the ports of England, or could be equipped. Herbert took with him twelve ships of the line; nine others joined him at sea.

At first he sailed for France; but, having been driven off by easterly winds, he concluded it was better * to watch on the coast of Ireland, than on that of France. His opinion proved just: For, on the 29th of April, the French fleet commanded by Chateau Renaut, and consisting of about twenty-eight ships of the line †, was descried upon the coast of Ireland. By accidents of winds, and bad intelligence, Herbert did not approach the enemy, who were lying in Bantry-bay, until the 1st of May. He then crowded sail to intercept them. But the French, conscious of their superiority, and perceiving his intention, weighed anchor, formed the line, and advanced in calm and regular order to meet him. The ardour of an English admiral, and of English seamen, for action, prevented Herbert's line from being formed with the same regularity. The French, who had the advantage of the wind, kept it all day, and shewed by their workings, to the astonishment of the English, and perhaps to their own, that their vessels were equal in agility, and their seamen in dexterity, to those of their antagonists. The battle lasted most of the day with equal success. In the evening the English retired towards Scilly: the enemy, towards Ireland. No ships were lost on either side; but several were disabled. Each Admiral, as often happens in sea-engagements, claimed the superiority in public. But there was this difference in the private sentiments of those they commanded, that the
English

† Gazette, May 6.

§ Doctor Campbell, v. 3. p. 7. and Gazette, May 6.

English officers and seamen accounted it a defeat, not to have been victorious on their own element: and the French termed it a victory, because they were not defeated. The latter, however, made their disembarkation good, and returned unmolested to their own country; which determined on whose side the advantage lay. When the news of this advantage reached Ireland, D'Avaux, the French ambassador, hastened with joy to inform James that the English fleet had been defeated by the French. James, with a generous peevishness, answered: "C'est bien la premiere fois donc?" "It is the first time then."

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William, in order to prevent the bad success of this first essay of his new arms from affecting the minds of the seamen, went down to Portsmouth, dined in the Admiral's ship, knighted two of the Captains, bestowed a donative on the mariners, a peerage on Herbert, compliments on all. Though cold to courtiers, William was warm and cordial to men of the profession of arms. Pleased with the attention, the seamen believed they had beat that enemy by whom a few days before they had acknowledged they were defeated.

But the accession of strength to James's party, by the disembarkation from France, did not shake the resolution of the faithful defenders of Londonderry. General Kirk had been sent to them from England with provisions, and a reinforcement of 5000 men. From different accidents, he did not arrive in the lake of Derry until the 13th of June. Upon the sight of his fleet, which consisted of thirty sail*, the besieged gave the usual salutations of joy: But, perceiving them received with silence, and no jovial returns made by the seamen, they looked upon each other with uncertain and foreboding

Kirk sent to
relieve Lon-
donderry;

[H 2]

eyes.

* Walker, p. 24.

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but retires
to the Inch.

eyes. Soon after, they were informed, that Kirk, upon receiving information that the passage of the river to the town was secured by works, had resolved to retire to the Inch, an island six miles from Londonderry. These works * were batteries along the banks, vessels sunk in the channel, and a boom which had been thrown across the river, and which was defended by two forts; and all these were reported to be much stronger than they were. Upon these sad news, the besieged made signals of distress from their steeples to Kirk, but in vain. After † a short stay, he set sail; the inhabitants of the town following his ships with their eyes as long as they could perceive them, and with their imaginations when they could see them no longer. Kirk chose the Inch for his station ‡; because it facilitated the junction of the volunteers, who lay at Inniskillin, with his detachment; and for that reason too he fortified it. From thence he sent a letter to the townsmen, assuring them, in terms full of affectation, that every thing in Scotland, England, and Ireland, was prosperous, and that succours beyond their wishes were speedily to join them; but he concluded with giving them in charge to husband well their provisions: A letter more alarming than all the menaces of the enemy.

Great spirit
of the be-
sieged.

But the besieged, though in a desperate condition, did not give themselves up to despair: Not contented with making sallies, and defending the old out works of the place, they even advanced new ones §, and became expert in fortification and mining, by imitating the arts which were employed against them. The women attended every service ||, animating the men by their cries, and often assisting them with their hands. All the spare time

* M'Kenzie, p. 38.

† Gazette, July 8.

‡ Hamilton.

§ Walker, p. 28. M'Kenzie, p. 34. and 40.

|| Ibid. p. 36.

time of the garrison and of the inhabitants was spent in private prayer or public devotion. Yet, it was strange, amidst the union created by common danger, to see religious divisions break forth*; for the conformists and non-conformists insisted each to have possession of the cathedral; nor could mutual slaughter have been prevented, had it not been agreed that the one class should attend service in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon. About the middle of June, when the weather grew sultry, disease at last seized them, cooped up in a narrow place. They † buried fifteen officers in one day. Baker their governor died. Yet even death in this form, more dismal than in that of war, dismayed them not. Their provisions being spent, they preserved life by eating horse-flesh, tallow, starch, salted hides, impure animals, and roots of vegetables. When their cannon-ball was near spent, they made use of brick covered with lead ‡. In this situation, General Hamilton pressed them to surrender, upon conditions which were reasonable. Their answer consisted in asking ||, “If he thought they could trust one who had betrayed the trust which their master had put in him?”

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James, tired with the tediousness of the siege, and alarmed at Kirk's arrival, sent Marechal Rosen, his commander in chief, in the end of June, to urge matters with more vigour §. Rosen, having more knowledge in the arts of attacking places than the Irish Generals, changed the dispositions, invested the place more closely, and made many furious but ineffectual assaults. At length, provoked by the fidelity of the garrison, instead of honouring it, he took a step unparalleled in modern

Barbarity
of Marshal
Rosen.

ages :

* Mackenzie, p. 32. and 33. † Ibid. p. 39. ‡ Walker, p. 28.
M'Kenzie, p. 39. || Walker, p. 29. and 31. § Ibid. p. 27.
and 28. M'Kenzie, p. 40.

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July 1.

ages : He gave orders that all the inhabitants, ten miles round Londonderry, should be driven under the walls of the town : He ordered the country to be burnt : He proclaimed, if the town did not surrender before ten days were elapsed, that all the inhabitants within it should be put to the sword. 5000, or, as other writers relate, 7000 miserable wretches, who were collected from the country around, men, women, the old, the young, even the sick, and nurses with infants hanging on the breast, all were driven, with drawn swords, under the walls of the town. This device weakened the spirits of James's army by its horror, and strengthened those of the besieged by turning a sedate into a furious valour. Many of the prisoners * called to their friends on the walls above them, " To attend to their own interests, not theirs : For that a surrender to men void of all Christian humanity could not save those who were without, and would only involve those who were within in one common slaughter." The Irish officers executed their orders against their countrymen, weeping and obeying ; and many of them † owned that the cries they then heard rang for ever after in their ears. The besieged, on the other hand, erecting a gibbet on the bastion nearest the enemy, gave orders to hang up whatever prisoners fell into their hands, and wrote to the ‡ enemy to send priests to confess them. During two days and two nights, the unhappy victims of Rosen's resentment continued at the foot of the walls §, without meat, drink, fire, or shelter, where many hundreds of them died. At the end of that time, such of them as were able to go away were permitted to do so. But those who died were the most fortunate : For, the others, filled

* Walker, p. 32. M'Kenzie, p. 43.

† Walker, p. 30.

‡ Ibid. p. 32.

§ Story.

ed with the seeds of diseases, and with dejection, as they wandered homewards, beheld on all sides their habitations in ashes, here and there at distances the smoke of some not extinguished, their cattle, furniture, provisions carried off: A vast silence reigned over the land: And they envied their companions who were at rest from their miseries. It would be inhuman to the memory of the unhappy, to impute the disgrace of this action to James: He * revoked the order as soon as he heard of it: because his own sufferings had probably taught him to feel for those of others.

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Kirk, in the mean time, heard the cries and saw the fires, though enraged, yet perhaps not displeased to see his own character for cruelty exceeded. At last, receiving intelligence, that the garrison, sunk with fatigues, had sent proposals of capitulation, and that they had provisions only for two days, he resolved upon an attempt to throw a convoy of provisions into the place, by means of three victual frigates and a man of war to cover them: An attempt, upon the success of which, it was obvious to all, the loss or ruin of the town could not fail to depend.

London-
derry relie-
ved.

As soon as these vessels approached the town upon the 30th of July, the Irish army hastened to that side; some to oppose them, and the rest to gratify their curiosity. That part of the garrison which was not upon duty ranged themselves along the walls nearest the river, with eyes intent, and hands lifted up to heaven for the success of the convoy. Kirk had been deceived in the strength of the enemy's works. The ship of war too, by galling the enemy's batteries, drew their fire upon itself, and thus saved the victuallers from danger. The foremost of the victuallers †, at the first shock, broke the boom;

* Archbishop King, p. 197.

† M'Kenzie, p. 46.

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boom; but ran aground by the turn which this gave to her course. A shout burst from the besiegers, as from the mouth of one man, which echoed to the ships, the camp, and the town. Multitudes of them quitting their ranks, flew to the shore, and plunged into the water: Some pushed off with their hands the boats they found there; others leaped into them; all advanced, or called to advance, against the vessel in distress. The smoke of the enemy's fire, and of her own, covered her from the sight of the besieged. During this darkness and confusion, the * besiegers called from the opposite side of the river, that the vessel was taken: A shrill cry of misery, like the wailings of women, was heard from the walls. The common paleness of fear appeared not upon men who had lost all sense of it: For one †, who was an eye-witness, relates, that in the depth of despair, they looked black in the eyes of each other. But, in a little time, the victualler was seen emerging from the smoke, having got off by the rebound of her own guns; and she and her followers, amidst the tumultuous cries of both parties, sailed up to the town.

The minute enumeration of circumstances in history needs no apology, when they are the causes of great events. Upon the fortune of this convoy turned the fate of Londonderry, and perhaps of Ireland. For, next day, the enemy, after a siege of three months and a half, quitted their enterprise, conscious they could hope for success from famine alone, not from their swords. The garrison was found to be reduced from 7500 men to about 4000, of which 1000 were rendered ‡ unfit for service: And the remaining part scarcely deserved to be called men; as, by watching and famine, they had rather the appearance of shadows. Their eyes being hol-

low

* Walker, p. 35.

† M'Kenzie, p. 45.

‡ Walker, p. 36.

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1689.

low and sunk beneath their brows, there appeared, in the expression of their looks, rather signs of resentment that their enemies had escaped, than of joy that themselves were free : Even to their friends who rescued them, those dark looks seemed to mark the remembrance that their relief had so often been called for in vain : Of the unarmed multitude, about 7000 had perished by famine, diseases, or the shot of the enemy : The supply of provisions was received with silent gratitude, as if it had been a gift from heaven, not with the noisy rejoicings usual upon such occasions ; the garrison, in a long and devout order, repaired in procession to church, checking the effusion of their joy, until they had returned thanks to that God who was the author of their relief.

The example of the inhabitants of Londonderry raised emulation in the other protestant Irish. About this time, 2500 Inniskillingmen*, under the command of Colonel Wolfey, defeated 6000 of Tyrconnel's Irish troops, at Newton Butler. 2000 were killed, 500 drowned in a lake, when trying to escape, and 300 taken prisoners. Their commander, General Macartney, refused to survive his disgrace by flying or taking quarter. He was taken, covered with wounds, and only ceasing to fight because he was unable to stand. The sole fear he expressed was, lest none of his wounds should prove mortal.

Could history confine herself to the recital of glorious actions alone, her pictures would for ever be pleasing : But, if she pursues them to their conclusions, the sad lot of humanity often tears down the beautiful trophies she has reared. The regiments, having consented to continue in service, were modelled † by the unfeeling Kirk : He reduced many of the officers ; some he degraded to lower ranks ; and filled the places of both with dependants

Fate of the
garrison.

* Hamilton.

† Mackenzie, p. 47.

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he had brought with him from England. Instead of keeping these bands of friends together, he draughted one half of the men, and transferred them to regiments, in which their actions and their virtues were unknown. From the brave Murray, under pretence of the necessity of service, he took the war-horse, which had so often carried him into the ranks of the enemy. Walker, having been sent over with the news to the King, was rewarded with money, not with rank in life, which the high-minded covet far more than gold. This man was afterwards killed at the battle of the Boyne: When the King was told of it, he is reported to have said, "Fool that he was, what had he to do there?" Words which dishonoured the living, not the dead! By a partiality inseparable from all free governments, because government itself depends often on those whom it commands, no higher punishment was inflicted upon Lundie, for betraying Richards and Cunninghame, than upon those officers whose only crime was that they had been betrayed. All three were dismissed the service: A punishment too small for him, too great for them!

May 7.
James as-
sembles the
Irish parlia-
ment.

In the mean time, James had assembled his Irish Parliament at Dublin. Only six protestants were returned to the house of commons; and of the protestant peers, only five Lords and four Bishops gave their attendance. His speech to the parliament, and some of his public papers, were full of compliments to the Irish papists and the French, and of complaints against his English subjects: Topics which he might have avoided without offence to the former, but which were of all others the most galling to the latter; because the one roused an old jealousy, the other gave a new provocation. By proposing too in his speech to pass laws for the advancement of trade, and the aggrandizing of the nation, he appeared to the English to have formed a system for abolishing the dependence of Ireland

Ireland upon England, and for creating a rivalship in commerce and empire between the two nations. The parliament drew up two addresses, one of loyalty to James, the other of thanks to Lewis XIV. And they passed an act, which asserted the independence of the Irish parliament, and courts of justice, upon those of England: Measures which were only wanting, to make him completely unpopular in England*.

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Two acts were passed in this assembly, which seemed to have been framed by madmen. The one revoked the act of settlement; the other was an act of attainder. By the act of settlement, the lands forfeited for the rebellion, which began in the year 1641, had been vested in those who, upon a solemn trial and examination, had proved they had right to them. The settlement had been confirmed by two acts of parliament, and by sundry patents from the two late Kings. The Lords Lieutenant had declared to the parliaments, and the judges at their circuits to the counties, the resolution of those princes to support it. The new proprietors had reared buildings, and made improvements, and third parties had purchased, lent money, and entered into marriage-articles, upon the faith of the act of settlement. By accident, most of the lands had passed from their original proprietors, who had been papists and in rebellion, into the hands of protestants. The posterity of the first proprietors, therefore, now brought a bill into parliament, for revoking the act of settlement, and restoring the estates to the heirs of their ancient proprietors. The motion was received with an huzza, and the bill passed in an instant. Provision was made in the act, that restitution of the purchase-money should be made to the present proprietors out of the estates of King William's adherents: A provision which, had it

Irish parliament
revokes the
act of settle-
ment.

* The public papers are in Ralph,

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1689.

And frames
a cruel bill
of attainder.

taken place, must have entailed division and discord upon Ireland for ever! This act drove the protestants, two thirds of whose land estates it took from them, to despair: It hurt even sundry Roman Catholics who had become purchasers, and alarmed the minds of all men with fears concerning the security of property. James gave ten thousand pounds a year out of his own estates, to make some reparation to the unhappy sufferers. But in this action people did not so much observe his humanity, as his consciousness of the injustice of the law he had passed.

The act of attainder was still more unjust and unpolitic: Near 3000 persons were forfeited by it; among whom were two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, twenty-eight viscounts, two viscountesses, seven bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, eighty-three clergymen; the rest were gentlemen. The attainder comprehended many whose constant residence was in Britain, and whose rebellion was only inferred from their not having returned to Ireland, when James issued a proclamation, ordering all his Irish subjects to leave England: An order which it was impossible for them to obey, because there was an embargo between the two kingdoms. The estates of all those who were detained in Britain by sickness, non-age, or other incapacities were vested in the crown until their proprietors should bring proof of their loyalty: A regulation the most extraordinary in the records of mankind! because it inflicted a punishment, not because guilt was proved, but until innocence was proved. By these two acts, almost the whole land-property of the protestants was swept off. This parliament passed an act in favour of liberty of conscience: But they made two others attend it; one enacting that all tythes payable by papists should be paid to popish priests; the other, that the stipends for the support of protestant ministers in the towns should cease: So
that

Other conduct of parliament.

that the pastors of that communion were every where deprived of their maintenance *.

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1689.

Exercise of
government
in Ireland.

The exercise of government corresponded with such laws. Although the French professed themselves willing at all times to send troops and stores of war to James, they continually refused † to advance him money. Hence, when the parliament gave him a tax of 20,000*l.* a month, upon real estates, he found himself under a necessity to levy, by authority of his own proclamation, 20,000 more upon personal estates; and to coin brass money, which he caused to pass, by another proclamation, at fourteen times its value, for a million sterling. The abuse of office continually attends the poverty of kings: The protestants finding it necessary to purchase protections against the Raparees, a species of popish banditti, from the officers of the army to whom the care of the peace was committed, the protections were sold at extravagant rates; and the officers were often changed, to afford new pretences for the renewal of the protections. The rates of goods, which were needed for public service, having been fixed by proclamation, James's officers, who had the charge of bringing them in, and who were all popish, took them mostly from protestant owners, and made their payments mostly in the base coin. The transition is rapid from the abuse of office to the violation of the law itself: All the schools were taken from the protestant teachers; the members of the university were turned out; the bishoprics kept vacant, and their profits bestowed upon popish priests; the protestant churches were seized by papists wherever they had power, under the pretence that these had been originally the property of their ancestors; and to crown all, the protestants, notwithstanding the act for liberty of conscience, were forbidden, by proclama-

* Archbishop King.

† This is confirmed by the Irish papers in the Paper-office.

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1689.

James's own
conduct.

tion, to assemble in churches or elsewhere, under pain of death.

James opposed sundry of these violent measures, but in vain : The protestants having called upon him in different applications to preserve his faith, and to give them that protection he had often promised, he was reduced to the cruel alternative of submitting to the imputation of breaking his word, or to the mortification of confessing his inability to keep it. Every day made him sensible how weak is the condition of a prince, whose subjects can reproach him with their services. The house of commons having opposed him in a particular measure : " I see," said he, " all commons are the same : " Words marking equally the depth of past resentment and of present uneasiness ! The same house having sent him a remonstrance against the secretary of state, Lord Melfort, James answered, " I would not have come amongst you, if I had " known you would not have allowed me to chuse my " own servants." The jarring of the French and Irish factions too tormented him. They had formed themselves into two regular parties in the court and the camp ; they hindered his service by obstructing each other, and took all importance from him by assuming it to themselves. He grew at last peevish and dejected ; and, in a nation which was then the most disorderly in Europe, allowed every thing to run its own natural course of confusion. The Irish Catholics called this confusion, independence upon England ; and his French auxiliaries accounted the miseries of neighbouring countries to be the happiness of their own. In one instance, however, he resumed the monarch against the suggestions of both * : For the commons having passed a bill for the reversal of Poyning's act, which makes the statutes passed in Ireland to be dependent, for their authority, upon the privy council of

* Archbishop King, Story.

England, James sent an order to stop it, and is reported to have said, "I will not hurt my kingdom, although I no longer reign in it."

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The fury of civil war was not confined to Ireland: As soon as the news of James's arrival in that country was brought into Scotland, the impetuous Lord Dundee hastened to Inverness, upon receiving intelligence that a quarrel about a debt had arisen between the town's-people, and some of the clans of Lochaber, and that these clans were assembled in arms in the neighbourhood of the town. He conferred at first with the chiefs on each side, separately, in private: And then, having convened all in public, he loaded them with reproaches, "That they, who were all equally friends to King James, were preparing, at a time when he most needed their friendship, to draw those daggers against each other, which ought to be plunged only into the breasts of his enemies *." He then paid the debt in dispute with his own money, and prevailed upon most of those, who had so lately stood under opposite banners, to enlist under his own. He insinuated to the highland chieftains, on the borders of the Earl of Argyle's country, upon some of whose estates the Earl had old claims in law, and others of whom had got grants of part of his estate from the crown when he was attainted, "that new governments produced new favours and new laws: Weak would be their interest at court, and in courts of justice, against a competitor who had done so much to place the crown upon the head of the new king." Lord Athole, Lord Tarbet, and Lord Breadalbane, men of great power in the north, were prevailed upon † to give him no disturbance; the two first, because they thought themselves neglected by the new government; the last to make himself

Dundee's
exploits.

May 1.

* General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs, written by himself. † Ibid.

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necessary to it. Dundee had friends * in the privy council, who suggested advices which were given by himself, and gave him intelligence of every resolution that was formed against his measures: He even secretly gained † some officers of the regiments which he knew were to be sent against him.

From Inverness he marched with incredible swiftness through different parts of the highlands, to rouse the highlanders to arms, and to disperse the militia which were raised against him. His force, small at first, increased as he marched along, till it amounted to six thousand men. Lord Murray, son of Lord Athole, had raised 1000 men upon his father's estate, and that of Lord Lovat, who was married to his sister, under an assurance given them ‡ of serving the late king; but in reality to make them serviceable to the new government. This body Lord Dundee now carried off with him; a desertion from two of their own chieftains, unknown before among highlanders! but it arose partly from their admiration of Dundee, and partly from their indignation against Lord Murray's breach of faith to themselves. While Murray was reviewing them, they quitted their ranks, ran to an adjoining brook, filled their bonnets with water, drank to King James's health, and, with pipes playing, marched off to Lord Dundee. Simon Frazer §, afterwards Lord Lovat, who, fifty-eight years after this period, lost his head on Tower-hill, for his adherence to the cause of the house of Stuart, was the person, then a youth, and a cadet of the Lovat family, who managed this revolt. General M'Kay was sent after Dundee with a force nearly equal in number to his own: But there was this difference between the two, that M'Kay's regular troops served for pay; Dundee's irregulars were incited by the love of war.

* General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs. † Ibid.

‡ Lord Lovat's manuscript memoirs, written by himself, § Ibid.

To mark the singular features of singular characters is one of the chief provinces of history. Dundee had inflamed his mind from his earliest youth, by the perusal of ancient poets, historians, and orators, with the love of the great actions they praise and describe. He is reported to have inflamed it still more, by listening to the ancient songs of the highland bards. He entered into the profession of arms with an opinion, that he ought to know the services of different nations, and the duties of different ranks: With this view, he went into several foreign services; and when he could not obtain a command, served as a volunteer. At the battle of Seneffe, he saved the Prince of Orange's life. Soon after, he asked one of the Scotch regiments in the Dutch service. The Prince being pre-engaged, refused his request. Upon this he quitted the Dutch service, saying, "The soldier who has not gratitude cannot be brave." His reputation, and his services against the covenanters, obtained him a regiment from Charles II. and a peerage and high command in the army from his successor. In his exploits against these men, his behaviour had been sullied by the imputation of cruelty: He excused himself by saying, "That, if terror ended or prevented war, it was true mercy."

Dundee had orders from his master not to fight M'Kay, until a large force which was promised from Ireland should join him: Hence he was kept during two months, cooped up in the mountains, furious from restraint. He was obliged, continually, to shift his quarters by prodigious marches, in order to avoid, or harass his enemy's army, to obtain provisions, and sometimes to take advantages*: The first messenger of his approach, was generally his own army in fight: The first intelligence of his retreat brought accounts, that he was already out of his enemy's

* M'Kay's MS.

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reach. In some of those marches *, his men wanted bread, salt, and all liquors, except water, during several weeks; yet were ashamed to complain, when they observed, that their commander lived not more delicately than themselves. If any thing good was brought him to eat, he sent it to a faint or sick soldier: If a soldier was weary, he offered to carry his arms. He kept those who were with him from sinking under their fatigues, not so much by exhortation, as by preventing them from attending to their sufferings. For this reason he walked on foot with the men; now by the side of one clan, and anon by that of another: He amused them with jokes: He flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies: He animated them by a recital of the deeds of their ancestors, and of the verses of their bards. It was one of his maxims, that no general should fight with an irregular army, unless he was acquainted with every man he commanded. Yet, with these habits of familiarity, the severity of his discipline was dreadful: The only punishment he inflicted was death: "All other punishments," he said, "disgraced a gentleman, and all who were with him were of that rank; but that death was a relief from the consciousness of crime." It is reported of him, that, having seen a youth fly in his first action, he pretended he had sent him to the rear on a message: The youth fled a second time: He brought him to the front of the army, and saying, "That a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of the common executioner," shot him with his own pistol.

The army he commanded was mostly composed of highlanders from the interior parts of the highlands: A people untouched by the Roman or Saxon invasions on the south, and by those of the Danes on the east and west skirts of their country: The unmixed remains of

* Dundee's memoirs.

that Celtic empire, which once stretched from the pillars of Hercules to Archangel. As the manners of this race of men were, in the days of our fathers, the most singular in Europe, and, in those of our sons, may be found nowhere but in the records of history, it is proper here to describe them.

The highlanders were composed of a number of tribes called *Clans*, each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the lands of a different chieftain. The members of every tribe were tied one to another, not only by the feudal but by the patriarchal bond: For, while the individuals who composed it were vassals or tenants of their own hereditary chieftain, they were also all descended from his family, and could count exactly the degree of their descent: And the right of primogeniture, together with the weakness of the laws to reach inaccessible countries, and more inaccessible men, had, in the revolution of centuries, converted these natural principles of connection between the chieftain and his people, into the most sacred ties of human life *. The castle of the chieftain

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Manners of
the high-
landers, with
their causes.

* It was the junction of the feudal and patriarchal authority, passing by the right of primogeniture from chieftain to chieftain, in a narrow country, and where the divisions of land-property were ascertained, which has distinguished the highland tribes from all others known in the history of mankind. The Hebrews had tribes founded on the connection of relation; but the patriarchal idea was soon lost in the want of a successive patriarch, and the love of the tribe in the too great number of individuals who composed it. The Greeks and Romans had tribes; but the only lines by which they were distinguished, were the quarters of the city in which they happened to live. The ancient Germans had tribes in their own country; but these were associations of fellow-soldiers under a commander they chose, not of relations under the common head of the family, to whom their obedience was thought due. The ancient Scythians and modern Tartars were divided into tribes of relations; but as they continually shifted their habitations, they wanted those arts of life and civilization, which are connected with the establishment of property in land, and with the regular transition of it from father to son. None of the barbarous bands, which made violent settlements in the Roman provinces, when that empire fell, had names

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tain was a kind of palace, to which every man of his tribe was made welcome, and where he was entertained according to his station in time of peace, and to which all flocked at the sound of war. Thus the meanest of the clan, knowing himself to be as well born as the head of it, revered in his chieftain his own honour; loved in his clan his own blood; complained not of the difference of station into which fortune had thrown him; and respected himself: The chieftain in return bestowed a protection, founded equally on gratitude and the consciousness of his own interest. Hence the highlanders, whom more savage nations called savage, carried, in the outward expression of their manners, the politeness of courts without their vices, and, in their bosoms, the high point of honour without its follies;

In countries where the surface is rugged, and the climate uncertain, there is little room for the use of the plough; and where no coal is to be found, and few provisions can be raised, there is still less for that of the anvil and shuttle. As the highlanders were, upon these accounts, excluded from extensive agriculture and manufacture alike, every family raised just as much grain, and made as much raiment as sufficed for itself; and nature, whom art can seldom force, destined them to the life of shepherds. Hence, they had not that excess of industry which reduces man to a machine, nor that total want of it which sinks him into a rank of animals below his own.

common to the individuals of the band; because they were parts of nations, and not of families. The Irish had tribes, distinguished by a common name borne by the individuals, and connected by a common relation; but the rule of tanistry in succession, which gave the election of the heir to the lord, broke all reverence for primogeniture, and was a continual source of discord among the members. The native Americans live in tribes, in a manner resembling the patriarchal life; but while, from their common relation, every member is bound to another, the whole, from the want of the feudal subordination, and from the excessive independence of individuals, are not bound to one head.

They

They lived in villages built in vallies and by the sides of rivers. At two seasons of the year, they were busy; the one in the end of spring and beginning of summer, when they put the plough into the little land they had capable of receiving it, sowed their grain, and laid in their provision of turf for the winter's fuel; the other just before winter, when they reaped their harvest: The rest of the year was all their own, for amusement or for war. If not engaged in war, they indulged themselves in summer in the most delicious of all pleasures to men in a cold climate and a romantic country, the enjoyment of the sun, and of the summer-views of nature; never in the house during the day, even sleeping often at night in the open air, among the mountains and woods. They spent the winter in the chase, while the sun was up; and, in the evening, assembling round a common fire, they entertained themselves with the song, the tale, and the dance: But they were ignorant of sitting days and nights at games of skill or of hazard;—amusements which keep the body in inaction, and the mind in a state of vicious activity!

The want of a good, and even of a fine ear for music, was almost unknown amongst them; because it was kept in continual practice, among the multitude from passion, but by the wiser few, because they knew that the love of music both heightened the courage and softened the tempers of their people. Their vocal music was plaintive even to the depth of melancholy; their instrumental either lively for brisk dances, or martial for the battle. Some of their tunes even contained the great but natural idea of a history described in music: The joys of a marriage; the noise of a quarrel; the sounding to arms; the rage of a battle; the broken disorder of a flight; the whole concluding with the solemn dirge, and lamentation for the slain. By the loudness and artificial dissonance of their war instrument the bag-pipe, which played continually

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nually in time of action, their spirits were exalted to a phrenzy of courage in battle.

They joined the pleasures of history and poetry to those of music, and the love of classical learning to both. For, in order to cherish high sentiments in the minds of all, every considerable family had a historian who recounted, and a bard who sung, the deeds of the clan, and of its chieftain : And all, even the lowest in station, were sent to school in their youth ; partly because they had nothing else to do at that age ; and partly because literature was thought the distinction, not the want of it the mark, of good birth.

The severity of their climate, the height of their mountains, the distance of their villages from each other, their love of the chase and of war, with their desire to visit and be visited, forced them to great bodily exertions. The vastness of the objects which surrounded them, lakes, mountains, rocks, cataracts, extended and elevated their minds : For they were not in the state of men who only know the way from one market-town to another. Their want of regular occupation led them, like the ancient Spartans, to contemplation, and the powers of conversation : Powers which they exerted in striking out the original thoughts which nature suggested, not in languidly repeating those which they had learned from other people.

They valued themselves, without undervaluing other nations. They loved to quit their own country to see and to hear, adopted easily the manners of others, and were attentive and insinuating wherever they went : But they loved more to return home, to repeat what they had observed ; and, among other things, to relate with astonishment, that they had been in the midst of great societies, where every individual made his sense of independence to consist in keeping at a distance from another. Yet they

did not think themselves entitled to hate or despise the manners of strangers, because these differed from their own. For they revered the great qualities of other nations; and only made their failings the subject of an inoffensive merriment among themselves.

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When strangers came amongst them, they received them, not with a ceremony which forbids a second visit, not with a coldness which causes repentance of the first, not with an embarrassment which leaves the landlord and his guest in equal misery, but with the most pleasing of all politeness, the simplicity and cordiality of affection to human-kind; proud to give that hospitality which they had not received, and to humble the persons who had thought of them with contempt, by shewing how little they deserved it.

Having been driven from the low countries of Scotland by invasion, they, from time immemorial, thought themselves entitled to make reprisals upon the property of their invaders; but they touched not that of each other: So that, in the same men, there appeared, to those who did not look into the causes of things, a strange mixture of vice and of virtue: For, what we call theft and rapine, they termed right and justice. But, from the practice of these reprisals, they acquired the habits of being enterprising, artful, and bold.

An injury done to one of a clan, was held to be an injury done to all, on account of the common relation of blood. Hence the highlanders were in the habitual practice of war: And hence their attachment to their chieftain, and to each other, was founded upon the two most active principles of human nature, love of their friends, and resentment against their enemies.

But the frequency of war tempered its ferocity. They bound up the wounds of their prisoners, while they neglected

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lected their own ; and in the person of an enemy, respected and pitied the stranger.

They went always completely armed : A fashion, which by accustoming them to the instruments of death, removed the fear of death itself ; and which, from the danger of provocation, made the common people as polite, and as guarded in their behaviour, as the gentry of other countries.

From these combined circumstances, the higher ranks and the lower ranks of the highlanders alike, joined that refinement of sentiment, which, in all other nations, is peculiar to the former, to that strength and hardiness of body, which, in other countries, is possessed only by the latter.

To be modest as well as brave ; to be contented with the few things which nature requires ; to act and to suffer without complaining ; to be as much ashamed of doing any thing insolent or injurious to others, as of bearing it when done to themselves ; and to die with pleasure, to revenge affronts offered to their clan or their country : These they accounted their highest accomplishments.

Their christianity was strongly tinged with traditions derived from the ancient bards of their country : For they were believers in ghosts : They marked the appearances of the heavens ; and, by the forms of the clouds, which in their variable climate were continually shifting, were induced to guess at present, and to predict future events ; and they even thought, that to some men the Divinity had communicated a portion of his own prescience. From this mixture of system, they did not enter much into disputes concerning the particular modes of christianity ; but every man followed, with indifference of sentiment, the mode which his chieftain had assumed. Perhaps, to the same cause it is owing, that their country

is the only one in Europe, into which persecution never entered.

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Their dress,
armour, and
manner of
war.

Their dress, which was the last remains of the Roman habit in Europe, was well suited to the nature of their country, and still better to the necessities of war. It consisted of a roll of light woollen, called a plaid, six yards in length, and two in breadth, girt like the Roman toga around the waist, and wrapped loosely about the body, the upper lappet of which rested on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty; a jacket of thick cloth, fitted tightly to the body; and, in later times, a loose short garment of light woollen, which went round the waist and covered the thigh. In rain, they formed the plaid into folds, and, laying it on the shoulders, were covered as with a roof. When they were obliged to lie abroad in the hills, in their hunting parties, or tending their cattle, or in war, the plaid served them both for bed and for covering; for, when three men slept together they could spread three folds of cloth below, and six above them. The garters of their stockings were tied under the knee, with a view to give more freedom to the limb; and they wore no breeches, that they might climb mountains with the greater ease. The covering of their head was a broad round woollen bonnet, but of the strongest milled texture, calculated equally to save from cold, from rain, or from the strokes of an enemy; the most simple of all head-dresses: Yet, by turning up the front of the bonnet, which was the token of defiance, they gave it a martial air; and, by adding a bunch of foliage or feathers, even a fine one. The lightness and looseness of their dress, the custom they had of going always on foot, never on horseback, their love of long journeys, but above all, that patience of hunger, and every kind of hardship, which carried their bodies forward even after their spirits were exhausted, made them exceed all other European na-

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tions in speed and perseverance of march. Montrose's marches* were sometimes sixty miles in a day, without food or halting, over mountains, along rocks, through morasses. In encampments, they were expert at forming beds in a moment, by tying together bunches of heath, and fixing them upright in the ground: An art which, as the beds were both soft and dry, preserved their health in the field, when other soldiers lost theirs.

The inclemency of their weather gave a rigidity to their features, because it forced them to draw up the cheek for the protection of the eye; yet this contraction gave a fire to the eye. In work they were awkward; but in exercise they shewed all that variety of natural grace which continually attends the human form when not fashioned by art, and unconscious of observation.

Their arms were a broad sword, a dagger called a durk, a target, a musket, and a pistol: So that they carried the long sword of the Celtes, the pugio of the Romans, the shield of the ancients, and both kinds of modern fire-arms, all together. In battle, they threw away the plaid and under garment, and fought in their jackets, making thus their movements quicker, and their strokes more forcible. Their advance to battle was rapid, like the charge of dragoons: When near the enemy, they stopped a little to draw breath and discharge their muskets, which they then dropped on the ground: Advancing, they fired their pistols, which they threw, almost at the same instant, against the heads of their opponents: And then rushed into the ranks with the broad-sword, threatening, and shaking the sword as they ran on, so as to conquer the enemy's eye, while his body was yet unhurt. They fought, not in long and regular lines, but in separate bands, like wedges condensed and firm; the army being ranged according to the clans which composed it, and each clan according to its families; so that there arose a

* Bishop Wishart.

competition in valour of clan with clan, of family with family, of brother with brother. To make an opening in regular troops, and to conquer, they reckoned the same thing ; because in close engagements, and in broken ranks, no regular troops could withstand them. They received the bayonet in the target, which they carried on the left arm ; then turning it aside, or twisting it in the target, they attacked with the broad-sword the enemy incumbered and defenceless ; and, where they could not wield the broad-sword, they stabbed with the durk. The only foes they dreaded * were cavalry ; to which many causes contributed : The novelty of the enemy ; their want of the bayonet to receive the shock of horse ; the attack made upon them with their own weapon, the broad-sword ; the size of dragoon horses appearing larger to them, from a comparison with those of their country ; but above all, a belief entertained universally among the lower class of highlanders, that a war-horse is taught to fight with his feet and his teeth.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the victories of the highlanders have always been more honourable for themselves, than of consequence to others. A river stopped their course, because they were unaccustomed to swim : A fort had the same effect, because they knew not the science of attack : They wanted cannon, carriages, and magazines, from their poverty and ignorance in the arts : They spoke an unknown language ; and therefore could derive their resources only from themselves. Although their respect for their chieftains gave them, as long as they continued in the field, that exact habit of obedience, which only the excessive rigour of discipline can secure over other troops ; yet, as soon as the victory was gained, they accounted their duty, which was to conquer, fulfilled, and

* M'Kay's manuscript.

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Succours
sent to Dun-
dee from
Ireland.

He marches
to Killi-
kranky.

July 16.

Is dissuaded
from fight-
ing;

ran many of them home to recount their feats, and store up their plunder; and, in spring and harvest, more were obliged to retire, or leave their women and children to die of famine. Their chieftains too were apt to separate from the army, upon quarrels and points of honour among themselves and with others.

After Dundee had been obliged to lose the first, and therefore best opportunities of action, the long-expected succour arrived from Ireland in the end of June; and consisted of no more than 500 raw and spiritless recruits, without provisions and ammunition. He received at the same time intelligence, that M^cKay was marching through Athole, to attack the castle of Blair, then in the hands of one of James's adherents. Dundee foresaw, that the loss of this place would cut off the communication between the two divisions of the highlands, in which his own strength chiefly lay; and therefore he resolved to give battle. He marched south towards Athole, with his army considerably diminished; because many of his men had retired to their homes to provide their winter's fuel.

At the castle of Blair he learned, that M^cKay, who, with his foot, and a few horse, lay encamped at Dunkeld, was to advance next day through the pass of Killikranky, and that the rest of his horse were to follow him in a day or two after. This pass consists of an open road, in a line nearly straight, about two miles in length, where not more than six or eight men could at that time go abreast. On the right are mountains that seem to rise to the skies; On the left, a precipice hanging over a deep and black river, which seems to sink to the center: On the opposite side of the river is a prodigious mountain, covered to the top with waving woods, across which eagles and other wild birds are continually flying and screaming. Dundee was pressed by his officers to dispute the passage with M^cKay, from the superiority of his situation, but refused

it. In public, he took advantage of an opinion prevailing from the most ancient times among the highlanders, that it is dishonourable to attack an enemy at a disadvantage; and cried aloud, "He thought not so meanly of his followers, as to believe they had degenerated from the generous maxims of their ancestors." But, in private, he assigned reasons, wise and well weighed, for rejecting the advice. He reasoned, "To defend the pass, a thing indeed easily effectuated, was only to delay the war, and to detain themselves prisoners in places where they had been already kept too long in confinement. With most ease, in open fields, the impetuosity of the highlanders shock was to be exerted. Six successive battles gained by Montrose, ensured the fortune of next day. To allow the enemy to pass over to fair ground, would inspire a generous confidence into his own men, but fill their opponents with a suspicion of the secret cause of it. What better terms could be asked, by an army for a general action, than unfatigued, and on their own ground, to receive an enemy, who had fourteen miles to march the same day that he fought, and who was ignorant of the ground that was to be left him to occupy? The terms of defeat were unequal: For to him, retreat was easy; but to the enemy, retreat and ruin were the same: Entangled in the pass, the stronger would push the weaker over the precipices in their flight, and all must fall a defenceless prey to his victorious army pursuing behind: Even at the other end of the pass *, he had sent orders to his friends in Athole, to watch and fall upon the few who should escape. If a decisive action was delayed for a few days, the rest of M'Kay's horse would have time to come up; an enemy the more terrible to highlanders, because they were conscious it was the only one they feared."

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yet resolves
upon it.
His reasons.

* M'Kay's manuscript.

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He tries his
army.

Battle of
Killi-
cranky.

The night before the battle, Dundee having reflected that the highlanders had not been tried in general actions since the battle of Philiphaugh, which had been fought 40 years before, and being desirous to put their courage to the test, gave an alarm, and caused a false attack to be made upon his own camp. In an instant, he found every man at his post, and firm in it. The event of the stratagem removed the diffidence of the general, and confirmed the confidence of the soldiers.

M'Kay's army, * after marching from Dunkeld in the morning of the 16th of July, and resting two hours at the mouth of the pass, began to enter it about mid-day. The soldiers marched through with awe at every step, impressed with the grandeur and novelty of the scene, even with the silence all around them, which seemed the forerunner of danger, and with the consciousness of their own inability to give assistance to each other, in case they were attacked. They advanced into the open field at the end of the pass with slowness and caution, deriving fear from that very security which was offered them; and at last observed Dundee's army resting upon the side of a mountain opposite to them, in one line, but a short one, because his men were fewer in number than M'Kay's, and lay thick upon the ground. But their numbers appeared greater than they were; for, though there were vacancies along the line, occasioned by spots of wood spread here and there upon the mountain; yet the imaginations of M'Kay's soldiers filled all these vacancies with armed enemies. Dundee had chosen this station; because, while the bushes concealed his own motions and numbers, it gave him an opportunity of observing those of his enemies †, secured him from the attacks of cavalry, would add violence to his charge if he descended upon the enemy, and make retreat, if retreat

* M'Kay's manuscript.

† Ibid.

was needful, easy to men who could fly over mountains with a speed which no regular troops could equal: And he resolved not to fight until near sunset, with a view, that if he gained the victory, he might give it a dreadful completion during the night; and, if he was defeated, that he might retire without the fear of pursuit. M'Kay, having observed the position of his enemy *, formed the troops which advanced foremost into the open field, into a line of three men deep; and lengthened the line along the field, as more troops arrived successively from the mouth of the pass, partly with a view to outflank Dundee, whose line he saw was short, and partly to prevent surprise, by making all the ground known to his army. He continued in this position two hours, to consider what to do, and what to expect; and in the mean time the two armies continued looking on each other. At the end of that time, M'Kay, suspecting Dundee's intention to take advantage of the night, and afraid to encamp in a place surrounded with enemies, used various means to provoke the highlanders to an engagement, but in vain. But Dundee, observing that by the position of the two armies his own might be outflanked, and so be defeated even whilst it was defeating, took advantage of his situation to make what motions he pleased without their being known: He detached his clans into separate bodies; removed them to the right and the left, but in thick order, leaving thus his centre weak; and, half an hour before sunset, rushed down from his station, and began the attack, by columns, upon the wings of the enemy, with a view that, whether his own centre was broken, or his wings broke those of his opponents, the battle might equally become irregular, and be decided hand to hand, not by the regularity of musquetry. Montrose carried the battle of Allderne by the very same disposition: All Dundee's

* M'Kay's manuscript.

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views succeeded: His thick columns pierced easily through the thin files of the regiments, pressed on the sides those who stood, turning round, met in front those who were giving way, and almost in an instant hurried the enemy off the field. One regiment, and the half of another, which were in the centre, not daring to advance, saved themselves by declining to be victorious in the post where they were placed. They alone retreated: The rest fled. Lord Dundee, who had been the foremost on foot in the attack, was the foremost on horseback in the pursuit. Deeming the flight of the enemy to be nothing, unless even escape was rendered impossible, he pressed on for the mouth of the pass to cut off their retreat. In a little time, he perceived he had outrun his men; he stopped; he waved his arm in the air to make them hasten their speed; and pointed his hand to the pass, as if he already grasped it. Being conspicuous in person and action, he was observed, and a musket-ball aimed at him found entrance in an opening of his armour beneath his arm-pit, occasioned by the elevation of his arm. He rode off the field, ordering his mischance to be concealed, and, fainting, dropped from his horse. His wound was mortal; yet, when he recovered from his faint, he wrote an account of the action to King James, full of high thoughts, and treating his wound as a trifle. He then desired to be raised; looked to the field*, and asked "how things went?" Being told, "All was well;" "Then," said he, "I am well," and expired. In this battle, an incident passed characteristic of a highland engagement. Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiell, the most gallant of the highlanders, next to Dundee, fought attended every-where by his nurse's son, who among highlanders is accounted a kind of relation;

Dundee's
death.

* Granger's Hist. Biogr. vol. ii. p. 503.

having

having grappled with an English officer, both fell over a rock; and, in the fall, Sir Ewan lost his sword: The officer raised his to kill him when on the ground; but Sir Ewan, fastening upon him with his teeth, tore out his throat. In the mean time, his attendant had been engaged with another. Sir Ewan, ignorant of this, reproached him for not having assisted him in his danger. While he was doing so, the attendant, perceiving a musket levelled at Sir Ewan, stepped before him, and received the shot, saying as he fell, "You shall never reproach me more." The highlanders falling in with the English baggage, gave over the pursuit, and betook themselves to plundering. By this accident, most of M'Kay's army got safely through the pass; yet not above 200 of them arrived at Stirling in a body with their general. In the battle, 2000 were killed, and 500 taken prisoners. Many of the fugitives were also killed or taken prisoners by the Athole men, whom Lord Dundee had the day before ordered to be in readiness at the south end of the pass: The rest dispersed. M'Kay, not daring to return through the pass, was saved by taking his way through the mountains to the west of it. Having stopped upon the first height that commanded the prospect of the field and the pass, he looked back, and, when he saw no pursuit *, said to those around him, that he was sure the enemy had lost their general. The express which was sent to Edinburgh from the field of battle with an account of the defeat, was detained by an accident a day upon the road. When this circumstance was related to King William, he said, "Then Dundee must be dead; for otherwise he would have been at Edinburgh before the express." The highlanders, according to the custom of their country, raised a great stone upon the spot on which Dundee fell, where it remains to this day.

* General M'Kay's manuscript.

A letter was found in Dundee's pocket from Lord Mellfort, then the late King's secretary of state in Ireland *, which imported, that a declaration of indemnity and toleration, then preparing, was couched in such terms, that James could break through it when he pleased: Sentiments which alone made death painful to those who were dying for his cause.

William paid another compliment to the memory of Dundee: When he was advised to send a great body of troops to Scotland after the defeat of Killikranky, he said, "It was needless; the war ended with Dundee's life." The observation was just: For though the highland army descended into the low countries of Scotland under the generals Buchan and Cannon, and were engaged in several actions; yet these actions were indecisive, and, after two languid campaigns, a peace was concluded. The castle of Edinburgh had been surrendered some time before by the Duke of Gordon, whom the superiority of Dundee's genius was no longer at hand to command. But the Duke, in the manner of his surrender, preserved the dignity of his rank and of his ancestors. He said, "He had so much confidence in all the descendants of James I. that though he must insist on a pardon for his garrison, he would stipulate no terms for himself." Upon the peace with the highlanders, the common men retired to their homes; but many of their officers were, in consequence of a capitulation, landed in France.

Fate of
Dundee's
officers.

Although the fate which attended those officers in France falls beyond the period of time to which these Memoirs are confined, a digression may perhaps be pardoned, that describes adventures which were worthy of the happiest days of Athens or Sparta. The officers were

* Lord Balcarras.

150 in number, all of honourable birth, attached to their chieftains and to each other, in their political principles only to blame, yet glorying in them. Upon their arrival in France, pensions were assigned them by the French King: But, upon the conclusion of the civil war, these pensions were withdrawn, because the object no longer existed for which they had been given. Finding themselves, therefore, a load upon the late King, whose finances could scarcely suffice for himself, they petitioned that Prince for leave to form themselves into a company of private centinels, asking no other favour than that they might be permitted to choose their own officers from their own number. James assented. They repaired to St. Germain's, to be reviewed by him before they were modelled in the French army. A few days after they came, they posted themselves in accoutrements borrowed from a French regiment, and drawn up in order, in a place through which he was to pass as he went to the chase;—an amusement of which he became passionately fond after the loss of his kingdom*. He asked who they were? and was surprised to find they were the same men with whom, in garbs better suited to their ranks, he had the day before conversed at his levee. Struck with the levity of his own amusement, contrasted with the misery of those who were suffering for him, he returned pensive to the palace. The day he reviewed them, he passed along the ranks, wrote in his pocket-book with his own hand every gentleman's name, and gave him his thanks in particular; and then, removing to the front, bowed to the body, with his hat off. After he had gone away, still thinking honour enough was not done them, he re-

* Nothing marks the poverty of King James's genius more than a saying which is reported of him upon his being told that there was to be a peace between France and England. "Eh bien, nous aurons des beaux chevaux d'Angleterre." "Very well then, we shall have fine English horses,"

turned, bowed again, but burst into tears. The body kneeled, bent their heads and eyes stedfast on the ground, and then starting up at once, passed him with the usual honours of war, as if it was only a common review they were exhibiting. They were sent from thence to the frontiers of Spain, a march of 900 miles, on foot. Wherever they passed, they were received with tears by the women, with respect by some of the men, but with laughter at the awkwardness of their situation by most of them. They were always the foremost in battle, and the last in retreat. Of all the troops in the service, they were the most obedient to orders. Twice only they disobeyed: The first time was at the siege of Roses *, where they had fallen into diseases, and been ordered to quit the camp for their recovery; but they delayed to obey, until they had sent a remonstrance to Marshal Noailles, against what they termed an affront. The second instance of their inattention to orders, was upon the following occasion: The Germans had made a lodgment in an island in the Rhine: The French, from an opinion that the river was impassable without boats, had ordered a number for the passage: Among other troops intended for the service, this company was ordered to keep a station opposite to the island, until the boats should arrive; but finding, upon examination, the ford, though difficult, not impassable, they, according to the custom of highlanders in wading through rivers, joining their hands together, and entering the river in a line with its current, the strongest men in the upper part, and the weaker below, so that those who were highest up the stream broke all its force, and tying their arms and clothes on their shoulders, passed to the island in sight of both armies on the opposite banks, and drove ten times their number from the lodgment. The French cried out in admiration, “ A gentleman, in whatever station, is

* Account of Dundee's forces.

“ still a gentleman.” “ Le gentilhomme est toujours
 “ gentilhomme.” The place is called *l' Isle d' Ecosse* to
 this day.

PART II.
 BOOK II.

1689.

All collective human virtues are sullied with the selfishness of individuals. The officers, to whom they had yielded their independence, and whom they had chosen to command their equals, cheated them of their pay, poor as it was, of their clothes, and of presents which the generous had sent them. The French, inattentive to their patience, fatigues, and services, sent them from the frontiers of Spain to Alsace, a march as long as the former. In this route, their clothes fell to tatters: After they passed Lyons, the country was covered with snow: They often wanted the necessaries of life; yet no complaints were heard amongst them, except for the sufferings of him whom they accounted their sovereign. After six years service, they were broke, when the peace was concluded, on the higher part of the Rhine, 1500 miles from their homes, and without any provision made for them. At that time, only sixteen of them had survived the fate of their companions; and of these only four arrived in Scotland, to give warning by their example to their countrymen, though to too many of them in vain, to distrust for ever the promises and flatteries of France*.

* There are men now living in Scotland who were acquainted with some of the four.

A P P E N D I X

T O

PART II. BOOK II.

Lord Strathnaver to Lord Dundee.—Advise Dundee to make his peace.—Strathnaver was brother-in-law to Dundee.

THE concern that many equally interested in us both, has for your lordship, abstracting from that respect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occasion regret in me, to see that the courses you take, tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if persisted in. I cannot therefore but wish, that you would follow the Duke of Gordon's example, and I am persuaded it will be found the best course; neither shall your friends who at this time dare not well meddle, be wanting to show their affection to you, and interest in the standing of your family, and I hope you will do me the justice to believe that none wishes it better, or will more effectually lay himself out in it, than, &c.

Inverness, 3d of July, 1689.

Lord Dundee to Lord Strathnaver.—His spirited answer.

My Lord,

Struan, 15th July, 1689.

YOUR lordship's, dated the 3d, I received the 13th, and would have returned an answer before now, had I not been called suddenly to Enverlochrie, to give orders anent the forces, arms, and amunition sent from Ireland.

My lord, I am extreamly sensible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the desperate estate you thought our affairs were in. I am persuaded it flows from your sincere goodness and concern for me and mine, and in return, I assure your lordship, I have had no less concern for you, and was thinking of making the like address to you; but delayed it till things should appear more clear to you. I am sorry your lordship should be so far abused as to think, that there is any shadow of appearance of stability in this new structure of government these men have framed to themselves: they made you, I doubt not, believe, that Darie (Londonderry) was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts, and I can assure you, it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you, the English fleet and Dutch were masters of the sea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Chanel; in testimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For as they came amongst they fell on the two frigats, killed the captains, and seized the ships, and brought the men prisoners to Mull. They tell you Shomberg is going to Irland to carry the war thither. I assure you the king has landed a considerable body of forces there, and will land himself amongst our friends in the west (whom I am sorry for) very soon. So, my lord, having given you a clear and true prospect of affairs, which I am afraid amongst your folks you are not used with, I leave you to judge if I or you, your family or myn, be most in danger. However, I acknowledge frankly, I am no less obliged to your lordship, seeing you made me an offer of your assistance in a tyme when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can serve your lordship or family at any tyme you think convenient, you may freely employ me. For, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumstances we stand, I will study your wellfare as becomes, &c.

The following speech of King James, at St. Germain's, to the Scotch officers when reduced to a company of centinels, is a strong instance, how a mind naturally severe and weak, may be humanized, and even elevated by misfortunes.

King James's speech to the Scotch officers, when reduced into a company of centinels at St. Germain's.

MY own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the stations of private centinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the Prince of Orange, and who I know will be ready on all occasions to serve me, and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done, and undergone for your loyalty, hath made so deep an impression in my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetfull of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have just pretensions to. As for my son, and your prince, he is your own blood, a child capable of any impressions; and as his education will be from you, it is not supposable he can forget your merits.

At your own desires, you are now going a long march, far distant from me. I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessarys. Fear God and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your parent and king.

B O O K I I I.

DISCONTENTS in the House of Commons.—*Clamours of the Merchants.*—*Continuation of Discontents.*—*Divisions between the Houses.*—*The Whigs renew their Attacks on the Tories.*—*Breach in the Royal Family.*—*Two Laws of Political Oeconomy.*—*Discontents in Scotland, and Causes of them.*—*The King's Grand Scheme, for gaining the Scotch, disappointed.*—*An Opposition in the Scottish Parliament.*—*Arts to irritate the Members.*—*They present a Remonstrance.*—*Fruitless Attempts to pacify them.*

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.

WHILE the late king, in attempting to recover his dominions, found himself reduced, even by his successes, to a state of dependence upon his Irish subjects, and was stung with the reflection, that he had only brought calamities upon those who were venturing their all for him in Scotland, William was under equal difficulties in the management of the two kingdoms he possessed. The disorders in Ireland, the bad success of the fleet at Bantry-Bay, the defeat at Killikrankry, raised great discontents in the English parliament; and they imputed to the king and his ministers, what was owing to the excess of their own parsimony, and to the inevitable distractions of a prince who had been only a few months upon the throne, and who could take no measures of vigour, without trem-

Great dis-
contents in
the house of
commons.

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.

bling lest he should offend those laws which he had so lately avenged. In the beginning of June *, the commons appointed a committee to enquire to whom the delays in succouring Ireland were to be imputed. As all national discontents in England fall first upon the king's ministers, a motion was, the same day, made by Mr. Howe, a whig member, and debated, "for an address to the king to remove from his presence and councils those who had been impeached in parliament:" A motion directed chiefly against Lord Danby, lately created Marquis of Caermarthen. Next day they resolved † to apply to the king for copies of the commissions and instructions relating to Ireland. Having been furnished with these, they, a few days after ‡, addressed for leave to inspect the books of the privy-council, and of the Irish committee, for papers relating to Irish affairs. The king § gave no answer. They addressed again. He kept the same silence. Upon this they voted, "That those persons who have been the occasion of delaying to send relief to Ireland, and those persons who advised the king to delay giving inspection of the minute-books of the committee for Irish affairs, are enemies to the king and kingdom." Immediately after a motion was made for an address "to remove the Marquisses of Hallifax and Caermarthen from his majesty's councils," because to them the care of Irish affairs had been chiefly committed; but upon debate it was adjourned. Whilst the dispute was between the king and the commons, these ministers interfered not; but, when they saw it pointed at themselves, they advised their master to give inspection of the books. The house of lords followed the example of the commons, and called ¶ not only for those books,

* Journals of the house of commons, June 2.

† Ibid. June 3.

‡ Ibid. 7th and 23d June.

§ Ibid. 28th June, 3d and 13th July.

¶ Lords Journ. 26th and 29th July, 2d August.

but for the books of the admiralty, to find out the causes of other national disappointments.

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BOOK III.

1689.

Their jeal-
ousies of
the Dutch.

The discontent of the commons appeared at the same time, in their jealousies of the Dutch. One member having declaimed upon the danger of falling into the hands of the French and the Irish; another called out with a full voice and air: "Add the Dutch." The commons had formerly desired * to know from the king, what were the mutual obligations of assistance between Holland and the crown: But now, irritated because the Dutch had not been at the battle of Bantry Bay, they desired to know what number of ships and seamen † the Dutch were obliged to fit out for the summer's expedition: And when they voted their second address for inspection of the books relating to Ireland ‡, they instructed their committee to enquire why the Dutch had not sent out their fleet sooner to join that of the English; although by comparing the dates of the treaty between the nations, which lay before the house, and of the junction §, it was obvious, the Dutch fleet had been sent out as soon as could have been expected.

June 26.

July 3.

The English jealousies of the Dutch were increased, by the clamours of the trading part of the nation. The English and Dutch fleets joined together, and, consisting of between 60 and 70 strong ships of war, had hovered most of the summer on the coasts of France, and in autumn had spread themselves along the coasts of Ireland; by which stations, they had prevented the French from sending succours of any consequence into Ireland. The French, in the mean time, invented a new species of war: For, laying up their ships of war safe in their harbours,

Clamours of
the mer-
chants.

* Journals of the house of commons, 25th March. † Ibid. June 26.

‡ Ibid. 3d July. § The treaty was dated 29th April. Vide journals of the house of commons, 1st July. The junction was made upon the 6th day of June, a few days after the battle.

they

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.

they transported their seamen on foot, on horses, and in carriages, by land to different ports, and put them on board a vast number of small vessels which they seized in the ports, and converted into privateers, in order to destroy the trade of their enemies. The merchants, whose complaints in England are always the loudest and the most listened to, exclaimed, "That a Dutch king, and Dutch counsellors, had laid a scheme to ruin the trade of England, with a view to engross that of the world to their countrymen. In vain were the English navies masters of the sea, if the English trading vessels could find no safety in it. The pomp and parade of fleets, sent to hover in sight of the enemy's harbours, and to serve only as magnificent spectacles, for the entertainment of that people whom they ought to strike with terror, were insults upon the miseries of a nation which was at the expence of maintaining them." All trading nations are jealous; but men must be doubly so, who are separated by their situation from the rest of the world, and who, prizing liberty with all the passion of lovers, cannot bear that other nations should either snatch it from them, or enjoy it with them. It was in vain for the king, or his ministers, to remonstrate, "That a new and unexpected species of war, put in execution on a sudden, no human prudence could foresee, or ward off in an instant. That, for these piratical gains, France had sacrificed her own trade, the reputation of her maritime arms, and the still more important object of giving permanency to the civil wars of her enemy." The merchants heard, could not answer, yet continued to complain.

Continuation of the discontents of the commons.
July 16.

The commons, in the mean time, drew up votes and bills which discovered both the greatness and littleness of

* Journals of the House of Commons, July 16.

+ Ibid. June 4.

† Ibid. July 15.

§ Ibid. July 19.

party. They passed * a militia-bill, calculated to take even the power of the sword from the hands of the king; but it was ordered by the lords to lie upon their table, because it took the same power likewise from theirs. In order to strip the crown of one of its brightest jewels, the power of shewing mercy, and to reach Lord Caermarthen, they voted †, that the king's pardon was not pleadable in bar of an impeachment. They threw an affront upon the national character of hospitality, by an address to remove from the kingdom the Duchess of Mazarine, whose chief offence was, that she was a French woman. Although not fond of women, and still less of gay women, William ‡ answered coldly, "He would consider of it." Madame Mazarine, who intended to have left the kingdom, now resolved to continue in it; "In order," as she said, "to show that women could have their humours as well as the house of commons." They struck at the decorum due to royalty, to a woman, and to misfortune, when, in a bill against papists, they endeavoured to limit the number of the queen dowager's popish servants to eighteen §: An insult from which an assembly of nobles protected her; but which induced the unfortunate princess, some time after, to quit for ever a kingdom, in which all knees had once bowed to her.

June 4.

July 15.

The king found the business of parliament obstructed, not only by the discontents of many of his subjects against himself, but by divisions between the two houses of parliament. The state of mutual opposition in which these assemblies had stood for half a century, the antipathy of individuals against each other in the two late reigns, some present jealousies ¶ in the peers of the interests of

* Journals of the house of commons, July 16.

† Ibid. June 4.

‡ Ibid. July 15.

§ Ibid. July 19.

¶ The clause which

the peers insisted upon in the additional poll-bill, and the bill regulating the trial of peers, were instances of this.

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BOOK III.

1689.

their own order, together with a belief they entertained, that the present house of commons had hostile intentions against monarchy itself, mingled private passions with political divisions. There was scarce a bill sent from the one house to the other during this session, which was not made the subject of a conference; and these conferences were managed with a degree of obstinacy and keenness unusual in parliament. When the peers* reminded the commons, that a bill lay before them for the trial of peers, which was favourable for the peerage, the commons reminded the peers, that a bill for a militia lay before them, which was favourable for the commons.

They differ
about the
Hanoverian
succession.

The differences between the houses affected even the highest act of state. The Commons had converted the claim of rights and instrument of government into a bill, and sent it to the Lords. William, who regulated all his measures by their effect upon France, and who wished at that time to draw the power of Hanover into the grand alliance, desired Bishop Burnet, who was vain of being thought to speak his sentiments, to move that the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and her posterity, should be inserted in the order of succession, after those who had been named in the instrument of government †. The Lords agreed to the amendment; but the Commons refused to receive it. Conferences between the houses ensued, in which Lord Rochester, the once great champion for hereditary right, managed the debate of the Lords. In the opposition of assemblies, parties as well as individuals seemed to have changed their own principles. The Tories, who had contended, during the interregnum, to save the posterity of the late king, now laboured to exclude it; and the Whigs ‡, who were natural enemies to the family of Stuart, preserved their pretensions from

* Journals of the house of commons, March 19. August 9.

† Vide Appendix to this Book.

‡ Journals of the house of commons, June 19.

being removed to a still greater distance. Amidst these contentions, the original bill of rights itself, the great instrument of English liberty, was lost for this session. The lords, some time before, had sent the commons a bill * to make it high treason to correspond with the late king. From a continuation of the same passions, it was rejected by the one house, because it had been adopted by the other.

PART II.
BOOK III,

1689.

April 30.

Nor did the houses differ only about the great objects of state : They entered into animosities concerning the most worthless and the most impudent of human kind. Titus Oates, the famous evidence in the popish plot, who had in the last reign been twice cruelly whipped in three days, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be pilloried four times a year as long as he lived, took advantage of the stream of party, and brought the judgment that had been given against him, by appeal, to the house of lords. The lords dismissed the appeal †. He had also laid his case before the house of commons ‡ by petition, which received it more favourably. When the commons were informed of the judgment upon his appeal, they inspected the journals of the lords; voted ||, “ That “ the prosecution against Oates in the late reign, was “ a design to stifle the popish plot, that the verdicts “ against him were corrupt, and the judgments cruel and “ illegal;” sent a bill to the lords, which reversed both the verdicts and the judgments; and ordered a committee § to form an abstract of the proceedings of the house upon the popish plot. The lords ** refused to reverse the verdicts, because the evidence upon which they proceeded was as yet unimpeached, and because they thought their doing otherwise would imply their acquiescence in the

They differ
about Titus
Oates.

May 31.

May 23.

June 11.

* Journals of the house of lords 29 April, and of commons 30 April.

† Journals of the house of commons 11 June.

‡ Ibid. 23 May.

|| Ibid. 13 July.

§ Ibid. 12 June.

** Ibid. 13 July.

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.

June 6.

truth of Oates's evidence, and consequently in the reality of the popish plot: But they agreed to reverse the judgments, because they thought the punishment an outrage upon human nature; and, in the mean time, in order to avoid all occasion of difference, they addressed * the king for a pardon to Oates, which was granted next day. But the commons, not contented with these concessions, demanded a † conference upon the subject of the bill. A great part of the session was lost in disputes about this vile person. In the end, the commons disgraced their record with a vote for an address for a maintenance to him; The king complied; some excusing him from the necessity he was under not to disoblige the commons, and others converting his compliance into a proof of his own connections with Oates and Shaftesbury at a former period ‡.

The whigs
renew their
attacks upon
the tories.

July 12.
June 28.
July 12.

May 23.

Amidst this jealousy in the commons of the king, and in the lords of the commons, it was in vain for the king, in different speeches, to remind the commons of the bill of indemnity, to press them for more money, and when he saw no more was to be got, to pretend he was satisfied they should proceed no further in raising money this session. The whig party in the house of commons still persisted in their original plan of hanging out terrors against the tories, in order to frighten them from opposing their power. Instead of drawing up a bill of indemnity, they began with forming rules of exceptions from it ||. These rules, reduced under ten heads, were so broad, as to comprehend not only all the malversations of the late reigns, enumerated in the vote of the 25th of March,

* Journ. house of com. 6 August.

† Ibid. 12 June, 22 July.

‡ I have been at a great deal of pains to discover in the paper-office, whether there was any connection between the Prince of Orange and Shaftesbury; but never could find any traces of it. There is a magazine of papers relating to Shaftesbury in that office.

|| Journ. house of com. 23 May.

which had classed them under seven, but also all those which had escaped attention when that vote was drawn up: So that it seemed calculated rather to point out trespasses to be punished which had been forgot, than to bury the old ones in oblivion. Having fixed upon the crimes to be excepted *, they next proceeded to select the criminals who were to fall under the exceptions. Here public accusations, private whispers, severe inquiries, were numberless: Men were stabbed by their best friends, who thought themselves justified in returning the dishonourable injury. In the course of this examination, the commons † enquired who were concerned in regulating the corporations, in taking off the penal laws or tests, and in the commitment of the bishops; and they ordered the ecclesiastical commissions, five of which had been issued, to be laid before the house: Inquiries, the first of which affected many even of the ministers of Charles II.; the next, most of the late king's; the third, all of the late privy council who had been present at the commitment of the bishops, except Petre, the person ‡ who deserved most to be punished; and the last, many of the most considerable § of the tory party, and even some ¶ who had endeavoured to disappoint the commission under which they acted. They called for the commissioners of customs and excise to account for their having levied these branches of the revenue in the late reign, without authority of parliament. They inspected their books; they called for persons, papers, and records; and addressed

June 18.

July 15.

July 17.

July 20.

* Journ. house of com. 28 June, 12 July. † Ibid. June 18, 14, 3.

‡ All the privy council present had signed the warrant of commitment, except Father Petre.

§ The Lords Rochester, Sunderland, Mulgrave, Huntington, Jeffreys; the Bishops of Rochester, Durham, Chester; Lord Chief Justices Herbert and Wright; Baron Jenner, &c.

¶ Lord Rochester, the Bishop of Rochester, and Lord Mulgrave. Vide the apologies of the two last.

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.

the king for leave to inspect the books of the treasury and privy-council relative to that matter: A vote which struck at Charles II.'s last board of treasury, and all the revenue officers of the late reign. They ordered some of the late king's judges, and others of them whom he had displaced, to attend the house; the former to account for their conduct, the latter to have an opportunity of boasting of their disgrace. They brought the late king's attorney-general before them, for a prosecution he had raised by the king's own order. They resolved to reverse sundry judgments of the judges, and to give reparation to the persons who had suffered by them out of the estates of the prosecutors, and even of the judges. They ordered an account of the secret money expended since the year 1682 to be laid before the house. Other resolutions and reports affected inferior persons *: For there was no distinction made between the great and the small. In this way, the commons got through the first four of the ten heads of their exceptions, and then stopped only in order to strike the greater awe, by leaving it uncertain on whose heads the storm should afterwards fall. In the mean time †, Lord Sunderland, the Bishop of Rochester, and Lord Mulgrave, had testified their fears by publishing apologies for their conduct; and such condescensions, made by such men, raised fears in the rest of their party.

Honourable
conduct of
the whigs.

But, amidst the heat of party itself, the honour of English party appeared. Special committees in both houses had been appointed to inquire into the death of the Earl of Essex, with a view, by some, to fix a stain of the deepest dye upon the memory of Charles II. and his

* All these things are to be found in the Journals of the following dates : Journ. house of com. July 15, 17, 20. June 14, 18. July 10, 19, 12, 13. May 29. July 16. June 2, 18. July 1.

† Sunderland's apology. Bishop of Rochester's letters to the Earl of Dorset. Duke of Buckingham's works.

brother. Informers and witnesses * were not wanting to strike the mortal blow, nor believers to give it effect. But the whigs did a more effectual service to their party, by scorning to serve it at the expence of truth and honour. Their justice too appeared; for, though they were arraigning the actions of the servants of Charles, they made provision for paying their arrears. But Lord Delamere †, lately created Earl of Warrington, was the only man of the party, who, revering the dead, and connections which were avowed now no longer, pressed for a reversal of the attainder of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth: A generosity which was the more honoured, because nobody followed his example! But the king fearing lest the pretensions of the Duke of Monmouth's family might in future times be turned into a weapon of party, resolved, by giving his title to another, to bar their hopes of recovering it. In Lord Mordaunt a person was found to submit to the invidious honour of being created Earl of Monmouth.

The divisions of the nation, and between the houses of parliament, William bore, though with impatience; but, when he found them attempted to be thrown into the royal family, he was filled with alarms. Although the Princess Anne had consented to be postponed to him in the succession, she had not forgot the importance of the concession she had made; nor William, perhaps, that he had been obliged to ask it. The high-church party, which had been at first disobliged by the seeming facility of the Princess's temper, in making that concession, returned soon after to her interests, partly from a family respect, which they found it impossible to shake off, and partly ‡, because her love for the church, and the neglect which her interest in the succession had met with

Quarrel in
the royal
family.

* Journal house of lords 1689, passim.

† Lord Delamere's works, p. 73.

‡ Duchess of Marlborough.

from

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from the whigs, had rivetted her affections to the tories. The adventurers in party wished, as is usual, for differences in the royal family, in hopes to assume merit from drawing down sufferings in the cause of the Princess upon themselves, and were all ready to flock to her standard. Upon these foundations Lady Marlborough, a woman artful, interested, imperious, possessed equally of the talents of insinuating and commanding, who thought that her husband's services had not been sufficiently requited, and found her own not attended to at all, formed the project of making that advantage of division in the royal family, which she could not derive from its union. Many things promised her success: The competition natural between the possessor of a crown, and the presumptive heir to it, increased, because not prevented by the circumstance of their being sisters; the competitors, high-spirited, women, and surrounded with women; the establishment of the court of a princess, for which it was difficult to find rules, and in which every new step afforded room for a new dispute. Looks, words between sisters and friends, are equal to explanations between others: The queen, jealous because her sister was so, had put some slights upon her, perhaps more to try her love than from real anger: These were construed, by Lady Marlborough, into mortal injuries. Kings and heroes, like the common race of men, are swayed by the partners of their beds: William entered into the quarrels of women, as if he had been one. To enumerate these, and the frivolous grounds of them, would be beneath the dignity of history, and even of memoirs: But many of them are to be found in the account of the Duchess of Marlborough's conduct, written by herself.

One source of difference, however, was of real consequence. An independent provision for the Princess Anne had been moved for in the house of commons, as early as the

the 26th of March *, more from a common mark of attention, than from any design of party. The house had postponed the debate, from the tenderness of the subject. But, after this, William gave himself no pains to procure that provision for the Princess, with which she had been flattered, when she consented to yield her pretensions to his in the succession; and she was too proud to ask favours from one upon whom she had conferred them. Lady Marlborough, therefore, got the motion for the revenue revived in the house of commons † upon the 17th of July; and it was referred to a committee of the whole house, which was to take into consideration the revenue bill. The committee resolved, that a revenue of 40,000 pounds a year should be settled upon her for life: A resolution, the more mortifying to the king, because his own had not as yet been settled; and because all men knew it was to be granted to him from time to time, and not for his life. Neither the king, nor the queen, nor any of their ministers, had been consulted in this motion. The queen got the first certain intelligence of it from the Princess herself, who, having been questioned by her sister, concerning the intention of the commons, answered, with indifference: "She heard her friends in the house of commons intended to do something for her." "Friends!" replied the queen, with heat, "What friends have you, but the king and me?" Words which remained deep in the minds of both! The king, in the mean time, exerted all his influence to disappoint the committee's resolution of the 17th of July; and, after a warm debate in the house, upon the 9th of August, the question was adjourned ‡. In order to prevent any further contentions upon this subject, William, a few days after, adjourned the parliament.

* Journals of the house of commons, 26 March.

† Ibid. 17 July.

‡ Ibid. 9 Aug.

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August 20.
The king
adjourns
the parlia-
ment, to
prevent a
settlement
upon the
Princess.

Two laws of
political eco-
nomy.

Discontents
in Scotland.

1. A cause
of them; the
state of re-
ligion.

Even in retiring, the commons left marks of that high spirit by which they were actuated: For, when their speaker, Mr. Powle, on the last day of the session, presented the bill for the payment of the Dutch forces, he, with a mixture of shrewdness and compliment, reminded the king, "That the Dutch had formerly received from the English that redemption from slavery which they had lately repaid."

No nation blends commercial with political interests so much as the English. The parliament passed a law, prohibiting all trade with France, and addressed the king to make the consent of other nations to a similar prohibition, the condition of his entering into alliances with them; to which he agreed. They passed another law for a bounty upon the exportation of corn. This bounty was demanded by the Tories, who were possessed of the great landed interest, in return for their consenting to a land-tax of three shillings in the pound*; the highest land-tax that had ever been known in England. By the first of these contrivances, France consumed and sickened. The last caused England to grow in stature and health. Foreigners were astonished to see a wise nation give rewards for exporting the sustenance of man: But they perceived not, that from thence would arise the industry of the people, and the verdure of the fields in England beyond those of all neighbouring nations.

While the parliament of England was disputing, with decorum, the will of their sovereign, that of Scotland, which sat at the same time, like slaves broke loose, indulged in licentiousness, under the specious name of liberty. This conduct was owing to three general causes.

Religious differences had, ever since the reformation, been the great sources of political divisions in Scotland.

* It was intended to have been laid on this session; and was laid on by two acts in the next session.

And the nation was now almost equally divided into the friends of prelacy and of presbytery. For, although most of the lower and middling ranks of the nation, and almost all of the commons, who, in the first heat of the revolution, had been returned to parliament, were, from principle and passion, attached to presbytery; yet most of the nobility and higher gentry, and all the old tory-party, were of the opposite communion. It was therefore impossible for the king to gain the one party, without losing the other. He saw the difficulty, and hesitated much. He made attempts in person to reconcile them to each other: But, while some looked upon these attempts as injuries, * others converted the smooth words in which they were expressed, into promises of which they were intitled to claim the performance. The Duke of Hamilton urged him to preserve prelacy. Old Lord Stair, and still more Carstairs, the same clergyman who had been put to the torture upon the discovery of the Rye-house plot, and in whose sagacity William put great confidence in church-matters, advised him to settle presbytery. At length in despair, the king gave orders to his † ministers, to consent in parliament to whatever mode of church-government the people of Scotland should like best: A compliment paid to the nation, which, by marking his indifference what mode should prevail, was disobliging to the keen friends both of presbytery and prelacy.

Another cause of discontent, equally important, arose from the selfishness of individuals. Almost all had readily concurred in placing the crown upon the king's head; because almost all had flattered themselves with the hopes of deriving advantages from their concurrence: But the distribution of honours and preferments having now been made, many found their expectations disappointed ‡. The

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2d cause.—
The disappointments
of ambition.

* Letter from Bishop Rose to Bishop Campbell, in Guthry.

† Duke of Hamilton's instructions.

‡ Gen. M'Kay's MS.

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anger of these men was increased by their recollection of William's former silence when they first waited upon him at London, which they imputed, not to the nature of his situation, but to a depth of design, and to an intention to deceive. William had foreseen these consequences; and as the offices were few, and the applications for them numerous, he had split them into commissions, in order to comprehend the greater number of competitors. But, in a country where most of the expectants were needy, ambitious, of good families, of good parts, and at a time when all those who had concurred in the revolution overrated their pretensions to favour, every obligation that was conferred upon one person disobliged a number of others. It was quickly observed in Scotland equally as in England*, that William put his chief confidence in those who had attended him from Holland. Lord Stair was restored to his rank of president of the session; and his son, Sir John Dalrymple, appointed lord advocate, and ordered to attend the king's person. Lord Melville, who had been obliged to fly to Holland† upon the discovery of the Rye-house plot, in which he had been engaged with his brother-in-law the Duke of Monmouth, a man ‡ timid, unexperienced in business, and docile from his consciousness of both, was named secretary of state, not so much to act, as to be directed by Lord Stair and his son. The recommending to places, the advising of measures, went through the channel of these three persons, who associated into their councils Lord Tarbet§, afterwards Earl of Cromarty, and Lord Breadalbane; the first on account of his relation to Lord Melville, and the last on account of his friendship with Sir John Dal-

* Lord Balcarras. General M'Kay's manuscript.

† Record of Scottish privy-council, 7 August 1683, 8 April 1684.

‡ General M'Kay's manuscript.

§ Ibid.

rymple, and the long reach of thought he possessed. Tarbet and Breadalbane were permitted to keep up their connections with the late government, under a promise on their part of turning them to the advantage of the present one. To the Duke of Hamilton, the king gave the empty title of representing his person in parliament as commissioner, without making any provisions for his numerous sons, or enabling him to make any for his more numerous dependants;—an honour which he looked upon as an insult*: And his complaints were the more graceful, because they were open, and suited to the greatness of his rank; and because they were accompanied with declarations of aversion to that Stuart family which he was unjustly suspected to favour. But the person who formed the most desperate schemes, was Sir James Montgomery, because he connected himself in private with the partizans of the late king;—a man equally expert in writing, speaking, and intrigue, who, though a mere adventurer in party, had aimed at the office of secretary of state, and, having nothing to hope, and nothing to lose, now converted his ambition into revenge.

There was still a third cause. As the revolution in England had been brought about by a coalition of whigs and tories, its interests were in that country, except in a few instances, kept distinct from the former oppositions to royal power. But as the revolution had been accomplished in Scotland almost entirely by the whigs, its interests were, in this last country, blended with those of all the insurrections in the two late reigns: For, many hundreds who had been engaged in these insurrections had come over with the Prince of Orange; others had contributed to his success in Scotland; many of them now sat in parliament; and it was known that there was a bill preparing to restore all the rest, without distinction of

3d cause.—
Anxieties of
the old po-
pular party.

* General M'Kay's manuscript correspondence with King William and Lord Portland.

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their offences, who had been forfeited since the first insurrection in Scotland after the restoration *. These exiles, accustomed in foreign countries to complain and to be pitied, imputed to every king what they had suffered from one or two, and thought that subjects were only safe when the crown was reduced to a state of inability to do them mischief. Mr. Fletcher of Salton, though not returned to parliament, communicated his own spirit to the conduct of this party: A man the more sanguine against slavery, because he had been forced to live under it in other countries, and had opposed it in vain in his own. He brought over to it too, the more virtuous part of the youth: For he courted the young, endeavouring to model their national love of ancient learning into an ambition of imitating the glorious actions it describes, and was in use to say, that the full restoration of liberty was not to be expected from the old, who, having once submitted to tyranny, had lost the sense of freedom. The youth, in return, revered in him simplicity of character and of honour, elevation of mind, and the spirit of their ancestors, and thought, that to feel his virtues, and to possess them, were the same †. This party was known sometimes by the name of the Revolution country party,

* That is, from the year 1665. Vide an account of the scheme in Woodrow's appendix.

† One of his *eloves* was Lord Basil Hamilton. At an after-period Lord Basil was deputed by the parliament of Scotland to complain to King William of the affair of Darien. He attended long in London without being properly regarded. At last a day was fixed for his being heard in council. When he came, other business was pretended; the council rose; and the king was going away: Lord Basil placed himself in the passage, stopped the king, and said, "I come, deputed by one of your kingdoms, to lay their complaints at your royal feet. I have a right to be heard; and I will be heard." The king bid him go on, gave him a civil answer, and then turning to one of his courtiers, said, "This young man is too bold, if any one can be too bold in his country's cause." This anecdote I had from Lord Basil's grandson, the present Earl of Selkirk.

from-

from its principles ; and sometimes by that of the Club, because its members met in private, and acted in concert. Lord Anandale, Lord Ross, and Sir James Montgomery, were accounted the heads of it in parliament.

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The claim of rights, which had been presented to the king with the offer of the crown, consisted of a variety of pretensions in favour of the subject, some of which were well founded, and others not. Yet instructions were given by the king to the Duke of Hamilton, to get separate laws passed in parliament in confirmation of every one of them, so as not only to remove the appearances of tyranny, but even to comply with all the prejudices of the convention which had formed those pretensions. A more popular and generous measure could not have been devised : But the Duke of Hamilton disappointed the effect of it. He concealed from the order of boroughs, that he was empowered to pass a law for reinstating them in all the rights which had been taken from them in the late reigns : Hence they were led to oppose that interest which they believed had neglected theirs. He refused the assent to a bill which abolished the king's supremacy in the church ; and though he gave the royal assent to an act which abolished prelacy, he took no care to procure another, which should establish presbytery in its place. The refusal and the neglect touched equally one of the tenderest strings in presbyterian breasts. He would allow no alteration to be made in the constitution of the lords of articles, a court-committee which had a negative in parliament before debate, although he received repeated instructions to make concessions upon that subject : A mark of attention to an unjust branch of prerogative, which roused all the jealousies of freedom *. He contrived, that

The king's
grand
scheme for
gaining the
Scots dis-
appointed.

* The lords of the articles in Scotland consisted originally of eight bishops, eight temporal peers, eight knights of the shires, and eight burgesses, every eight

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that the bill for reversing the forfeitures in the late reigns should not be got ready, because his brother and one of his sons possessed estates in consequence of those forfeitures *: A delay which exasperated all the exiles, who were eager to recover their honours and fortunes. He concealed the instructions which he had to carry through

eight chosen by the respective bodies to which they belonged, and the eight officers of state, who were named by the crown. They were a committee appointed for putting the business of parliament into form after it was moved in the house; but they had no power to exclude any motion. In the Scotch parliament, business proceeded not as in the English, by bills passing in slow forms, and after repeated readings through one house, then sent to the other: The bill, on the contrary, received only one reading; all the members formed but one assembly; and parliaments often sat only a few days at a time. In such a state of things, a committee intended to give facility to business, was a wise and necessary contrivance; and common justice and policy required, that some of the king's servants, to take care of the king's interest, should be constituent members of it. But, in the reign of James I. of England, a period when the plan of exalting the power of the crown by law was first laid, the lords of articles were converted into a court-committee, with a negative upon parliament before debate: For, first by usage from the year 1633, and afterwards by statute, cap. 1. sess. 3. par. 1. ch. 2. the bishops chose eight noblemen, the nobility eight bishops, these sixteen eight knights and eight burgesses, to all of whom were added the eight officers of state; and this committee assumed a power of rejecting what motions they pleased. But as all the bishops and the greatest part of the nobles were, from this period, at the devotion of the crown, it is obvious the crown had the real nomination of the committee. At the revolution, the convention-parliament insisted that the committee of articles should be put upon the footing on which it stood previous to the year 1633, with this alteration, that the officers of state should be excluded. The king, by his first instructions to the Duke of Hamilton, which were given him before the parliament sat down, directed him to put the committee of articles exactly upon its ancient footing before the year 1633: And, when this was found disagreeable to the parliament, the duke received other instructions, to allow each order of parliament to name eleven out of its own order, to which the eight officers of state were to be added: A concession which could not have failed to have given the superiority to the subject over the crown. And, in order to secure that superiority still further, the parliament was to have a power of changing this committee as often as it pleased, and the committee was to have no power of rejecting motions.

* Lord Balcarras.

the popular acts in confirmation of the claim of rights: Hence the king was blamed by his best friends for his inattention to the interests of the nation, and to his own promises *. Lastly, the Duke inflamed the resentment of the public, and of individuals, by imputing all the disappointments which either suffered to the new ministers.

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From these causes and circumstances, the same assembly which, as a convention, had, two months before, discovered the most unbounded confidence in William, now, when converted into a parliament, engaged in a formal and determined opposition to all his measures. They provided no revenue for him. They refused to support his forces, although there was a civil war yet unextinguished in their country: A piece of obstinacy attended with mischievous consequences! for it obliged the king to disband a part of his Scotch army, and to leave the rest without pay, and the soldiers who were retained in the service †, to live upon free quarter. Some of the popular bills, which, in spite of the commissioner, had been forced into parliament by some, were disappointed by others, lest the king should get the popularity of assenting to them; and others of these bills were carried through the house, because it was known under-hand, that the commissioner was to put a negative upon them. In order to hurt Lord Stair and the prerogative together, the parliament passed a bill which gave the nomination of a new set of judges to the parliament, and of the president to the judges; and,

An opposition formed in the Scottish parliament.

* Vide "An account of the affairs of Scotland in their civil and religious rights, printed at London for Richard Baldwin, anno 1690;" believed to have been written by Sir John Dairymple, afterwards Earl of Stair.

Vide also General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs, and correspondence with Lord Portland, from which it appears, the duke confessed to General M'Kay, that though he was strongly attached to the king's title, yet he had at this time thwarted his measures from revenge.

† General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs. Books of Scottish privy-council.

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1689.

Scottish parliament adjourned.

Sir James Montgomery's arts to irritate the members.

in order to hurt his son, they passed another, which declared, that those who had concurred in any of the illegal measures of the late government should be incapable of public trust. The terms of this last bill were made so broad, that, had it got the royal assent, it must have thrown the whole nation into a flame *. In an assembly, whose forms of proceeding were not very precisely ascertained, where most wished for confusion, and none more than he who was sent to prevent it, those who opposed the court perplexed the debates, by debating on the order of motions †, and reversing the resolutions which had been voted : And they inflamed the populace to so great a degree, that the new judges were obliged to take their seats under the protection of a regiment of dragoons. In this way, several weeks were consumed ; only nine public bills passed the house, and to five of these, the commissioner refused his assent, under pretence, that they infringed the prerogative, although he had instructions to pass three of them, and to compromise another : And then, with pretended vexation, and real joy for the bad success of the session, he adjourned it. The new ministers complained of the commissioner to the king : The commissioner represented, that even popular measures could not be carried through by unpopular ministers. Uncertain whose advices to follow, or what measures to take, the king, from time to time, adjourned the parliament for near a year ‡.

But these adjournments gave not even a momentary quiet to William. Sir James Montgomery took advantage of the mischiefs, most of which he had created. To the presbyterians he insinuated, “ That the king had passed an act, which abolished prelacy, but did not substitute presbytery in its place, only with an intention

* Proceedings of the Scottish parliament vindicated; written by Sir James Montgomery.

† Lord Stair's account, p. 30.

‡ Appendix to this book, No. 2.

“ to keep a treaty open between himself and their enemies.” To the episcopal clergy, he took care it should be foretold, “ That that act, uncomplete as it was, was the forerunner of plunging their order into poverty.” And to the laity of their communion, “ That what had happened to their fathers would happen to them : For they would soon see their wives and families regulated by puritanical teachers, and themselves obliged to do penance in congregations of their foes.” And to both sides he appealed, “ If that Prince must not be indifferent to religion altogether*, by whose means, one set of clergy had been virtually dismissed from the ministry of religion, and yet no other even virtually admitted into it?” The ancient nobility, and chiefly those of the north, he irritated by their pride and their jealousy. “ All power in the kingdom,” he said, “ was put into the hands of three men, without alliance or followers ; while they, whose families had been in use to command the fate of their country, and could command it again, were neglected. But, if neglect was sufferable, distrust was not : Their residence in the highlands made the imputation of their attachment to the late royal cause easy ; and ministers, whose party was narrow, and who were themselves of low-country families, had an interest to mark a distinction between the two parts of the kingdom, and to represent their own enemies as rebels to their master.” To the revolution country-party, he exclaimed, “ However magnanimous or wise the king might be, he was a stranger to Scotland. He had given his confidence to three ministers, one of whom, Lord Melville, because not accustomed to business, was almost as much a stranger to the affairs of Scotland as his master : Another of

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* General M'Kay's manuscript.

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“ whom had betrayed Charles II. and the third, his
 “ successor. These ministers had associated into their
 “ councils, two persons who had turned against the late
 “ government, by which they had been trusted *, and
 “ now only pretended to serve the present government,
 “ that by treating it in the same manner, they might
 “ atone for their former offence. All these men, except
 “ Lord Melville, had, at some period of their lives, been
 “ the instruments of the late reigns ; but the instruments
 “ of tyranny were improper ministers of freedom. Every
 “ king loved power ; and the king had chosen them,
 “ only because he knew they would make his will their
 “ own, and force others to lessen their disgrace, by
 “ sharing it. Freedom had already been injured ; for
 “ the royal assent had been refused to the popular bills
 “ called for by the people, and presented by the parlia-
 “ ment. The king had lost his own popularity in his
 “ ministers want of it ; and small was the distance be-
 “ tween the contempt of popularity and of virtue. The
 “ Duke of Lauderdale had made courts of justice
 “ the great sanctuaries of oppression ; and now a man
 “ was placed at the head of the law, who had been the
 “ friend of Lauderdale. Occupied entirely with the af-
 “ fairs of England and Ireland, the king had laid aside all
 “ attention to the welfare of Scotland. His soldiers
 “ spoiled that country which they ought to have pro-
 “ tected : He had neglected to restore the rights of citi-
 “ zens to the companions of his hazards : And he ad-
 “ journed from time to time, that national assembly,
 “ which alone could find remedies for such disorders,
 “ deeming his ministers his only friends, and his parlia-
 “ ment his chief foes †.”

* Lord Tarbet got his peerage from James the Second, and was one of his secret committee. Vide Lord Balcarras. Lord Breckinridge was made a peer by Charles the Second, and was a favourite of both brothers.

† Proceedings of the Scotch parliament, written by Sir James Montgomery.

By such arts, Sir James Montgomery persuaded most of the members of the parliament to join in an address to the king, notwithstanding the recess, in which, in terms affectedly respectful, but full of real reproaches, they complained of his not carrying the claim of rights into execution *. Another was sent from the presbyterian clergy; a third from the boroughs.

It was in vain for the King to publish his instructions to the Duke of Hamilton, in order to shew the purity of his intentions: In vain Sir John Dalrymple, in speaking and in writing, reminded his countrymen, "That while
" England, by the revolution, had got no more than
" the re-establishment of constitutional freedom, Scot-
" land had made an escape from constitutional tyranny:
" For all the laws in the one country, were on the side
" of the subject; but in the other, absolute power had
" been established by law, during the two last reigns, in

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They present a remonstrance to the king. Attempts to pacify them prove vain.

* The address complained, that six of their favourite bills had been either refused or disappointed. 1mo, The bill altering the constitution of the Lords of articles. This bill, as they had framed it, was unreasonable (vide note on a former page); but the commissioner had power to compromise it. 2do, The bill for abolishing the king's supremacy. The commissioner had power to pass it; for, by his first instructions given him before the parliament sat down, he was directed "to pass an act, establishing that church-government
" which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people, rescinding the
" act of parliament of the year 1669 (that is, the act of supremacy), and all
" acts inconsistent therewith." And, by his second instructions given him while the parliament was sitting, he received orders "to pass what act
" should be proposed for settling the church-government according to his
" former instructions." 3tio, The bill of disabilities; it was equally unjust and impolitic. 4to, The bill giving the nomination of the judges to parliament, and of the president to the judges. This bill was contrary to ancient practice (vide Lord Stair's vindication of himself), to prerogative and to public interest. 5to, The bill for restoring those presbyterian ministers who had been ejected from their charges since the year 1661. The Duke had power to pass it, by his instructions relative to church-government. 6to, The address complained, that those who had been forfeited in the late reigns were not restored. The Duke, by article 3d of his 2d instructions, was empowered to pass a general act of restoration. Vide Lord Stair's account.

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“ the state *, in the church †, over private property ‡,
“ over foreign trade §, and in those branches || of taxa-
“ tion which depended upon it. That the intention of
“ the king to throw this power from him, because, by
“ disgracing the people, it degraded him who reigned
“ over them, and to restore them to the freedom of their
“ ancestors, had been disappointed by the madness of
“ party. It was natural for a prince, who was unac-
“ quainted with his new subjects, in a country divided by
“ high factions, to put his chief confidence, for some
“ time at least, in men whose fidelity he knew, until he
“ had tried that of others. The transition was easy,
“ from embarrassing the measures, to proceed to opposing
“ the title of a new government. Men, disappointed in
“ their ambition, had taken advantage of the virtues of
“ their countrymen, to engage them in the one. The
“ unwary would find, when too late, that the same men
“ had insensibly drawn them into the other. Let them,
“ therefore, beware of shewing that they were equally

* Vide act 2. parl. 1 James II.
parl. 1669.

† Vide act of supremacy, act 1.
‡ By the act 16 parl. 1681, it is declared, “ That,
“ notwithstanding the jurisdictions and offices created by the crown, his
“ sacred Majesty may, by himself or any commissioned by him, take cogni-
“ zance and decision of any cases or causes he pleases.” § By the
act 27. 1663, the king had the power of regulating foreign trade.

|| By the act 27. 1663, the king had the power of taxing foreign trade as
he pleased.

The four statutes quoted in the five last notes, prove clearly, that Charles the Second, and his brother, had laid down his system, regular, and connected in all its parts, to establish an absolute monarchy in Scotland. There were two causes of the Scotch consenting to these statutes. The one was the frequency of unsuccessful rebellions during the reigns of those princes, which made every man who opposed the court be accounted a rebel. The other was, the extraordinary powers which the privy-council exerted, during those reigns, and which threw terror upon all. I know nothing so effectual to make a man a good whig, as a perusal of the books of the Scottish privy-council. Before the reign of Charles the Second, the subject in Scotland was by the laws as independent upon the Sovereign as in England.

“ incapable

“uncapable of living without liberty, and of knowing
 “how to bear it.” But the flame of party was raised,
 and it was in vain to expect, that truth, justice, or public
 interest, could extinguish it. Fatigued and peevish
 with the interested politics of the Scotch, an expression
 escaped from the king, which was not forgotten to be re-
 peated by his enemies, “That he wished he had never
 “been king of Scotland.” Words unguarded and un-
 wise ! As if a million and a half of free subjects could be
 a trifling object to any monarch upon earth.

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1689.

Thus, in return for having delivered three kingdoms
 from popery and slavery, William, before he was a year
 upon the throne, found himself repaid with faction in one
 of them, with rebellion in another, and with both in the
 third. But the dissension between the two royal sisters
 gave him more vexation than all the three ; because he
 foresaw that latent reasons would follow it, which he
 would not dare to punish, or even to unveil.

A P P E N D I X

TO

PART II. BOOK III.

In the chest there is a letter from the Princess Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne; the tenderness of which to an unfortunate though guilty prince, does honour to her memory.

The Princess Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne—her joy—her pity for King James—her attachment to the Protestant religion.—In King William's cabinet.

Translation.

AFTER the profession which I have always made of being an humble servant to your Majesty, I believe you cannot doubt of the part which I take in every thing that contributes to your elevation and your glory: Yet I lament King James, who honoured me with his friendship. I should be afraid that your Majesty would have a bad opinion of my sincerity if I concealed from you this sentiment. I am even persuaded that my candour will give you a better opinion of me, and that your Majesty will the more easily believe the protestation which I make you of my prayers for your prosperity, and of the opinion I have, that you deserve the crown which you wear, in a thousand respects which I am unable to name, from the fear of shocking your modesty. However, as it has pleased God to make your Majesty the protector of our religion, I hope you will put it also in a state to have

its arms free, to assist us poor mortals, who, by the desolation of our neighbours, are near to that roaring beast which endeavours to devour us, in order that all those who are not papists may successively maintain the religion we profess to all eternity, in England and elsewhere; and that your Majesty may count among the most zealous, one who shall be all her life, &c.



B O O K IV.

PREPARATIONS for the War in Ireland. — Schomberg's March to Dundalk. — Schomberg's Encampment at Dundalk, and Miseries of his Army. — Retreat of the Armies into Quarters. — The King becomes unpopular. — Account of Church-matters. — Great Heats in Parliament. — The Commons resolve upon an Address disapproving of the King's Measures. — The King relieved from it by an Accident. — Dissensions revived in the Royal Family. — The King's Distress between the Whigs and the Tories. — He breaks with the Whigs, and dissolves the Parliament.

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1689.

WILLIAM perceived too late, that his neglect of Ireland had been either the capital error or the capital misfortune of his new reign. The disturbed state of that kingdom had encouraged those in Britain who disputed his title, had given a handle to those who complained of his measures, and he now found was likely to stop the career of his ambition against France: For the cries of his people, and the fears of his ministers for their own safety, discovered to him that the care of the dominions of England was, in the eyes of Englishmen, an object far more important than humbling the power of any foreign nation, however formidable or obnoxious.

Preparations for the war in Ireland.

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1689.

June 27.

He therefore resolved to prosecute the reduction of Ireland, with a force proportioned to its difficulty. But he was afraid to send the late king's army to fight against him; and therefore ordered twenty-three * new regiments to be raised. The levies were completed in six weeks: For England, by a long peace, was filled with men impatient for war, because they loved its glories, and knew not its miseries. These regiments, with two Dutch battalions, and four of French refugees, were destined for the service: And they were to be joined in Ireland by the Inniskillingers, together with such regiments as could be spared from Scotland, because both of those bodies of men had been tried against their late master; and by six thousand hired Danes, because these knew no master except him who paid them. Suspicion of his own subjects made William give the direction of the expedition also to foreigners: He appointed Marshal Schomberg, then eighty years of age, to be the first, and Count Solmes the second in command. In order to give more splendour to the command, the King honoured Schomberg with a dukedom, and the garter; and the house of commons voted him a present of 100,000 pounds. Before Schomberg set out, he waited upon that assembly, to thank them, and to take his farewell; and was received with those attentions, which, from assemblies guided by the will of another, are tiresome ceremonies, but from assemblies of free men, are the most pleasing of all honours.

State of the
new army
intended for
Ireland.

Schomberg arrived at Chester on the 20th of July: But here he found almost nothing ready for his expedition. The English, unaccustomed to war in their own country, knew not how to prepare for it. Most of the regiments, by mistakes of orders, were not come up; and those which came were incomplete. There was not a sufficient

* Books of privy-council.

number of transports for carrying the horses for the artillery and baggage; nor a proper quantity of provisions in the magazines; neither were the convoys ready. The clothes, shoes, and tents of the new levies were bad: Few of the men had ever fired a musket; and, from the pride which is natural to the English populace, most of them were impatient of command. Nor were their officers much better. Cromwell's officers were long ago dead, or had retired to the country, or had entered into trade, having forgot their crimes and their virtues alike. Few new ones had been formed in the reign of Charles II. from the people's jealousy of an army, and the king's of a militia; and of these few, most had been corrupted by the residence in London, which that prince assigned to the small force he maintained. And the present king was afraid to trust many of James's officers among the new levies: So that the new commissions had been given mostly to the younger sons of country gentlemen, with a view to attach their fathers and brothers to the new establishment.

The Duke of Schomberg continued twenty-two days at Chester, to hasten all things necessary, but to little purpose. At last, that he might not lose the season of action altogether, he set sail on the 12th of August, with no more than 10,000 men, of which a few only were cavalry, and with part of his artillery, leaving orders for the rest of the army to follow him as fast it could. The fleet arrived next day in the bay of Carrickfergus. Schomberg resolved, by some exploit of consequence, but not of danger, to give reputation to his arms; a thing which he knew he needed, to encourage new troops, and to intimidate a new foe; and therefore, about a week after his landing, he laid siege to Carrickfergus, and took it in four days, with a garrison of 2500 men in it.

Schomberg
sails with a
part of his
army, and
takes Car-
rickfergus.

August 26.

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1689.

Schem-
berg's march
to Dundalk.

The country from Carrickfergus to Dundalk * was full of mountains and bogs ; but, beyond that town, it was level, dry, and open. Schomberg, sensible from this form of the country, that in a march to Dundalk, he could be safe against attacks of cavalry or artillery, in which the enemy was strong and himself weak, but that he must be exposed to both, if he advanced any farther, resolved to march his small army to Dundalk, and to continue there until the rest of his forces and equipage should join him. He sent most of the artillery which he had brought with him from England by sea to Carlingford, a port eight miles from Dundalk, because he had not horses to draw it, and carried with his army only the lightest of his field-pieces. He ordered the transports which should arrive from England to rendezvous at the same port, and the Inniskillingers to join him upon his route.

During this march, which lasted six days, the raw soldiers got the first taste of those hardships, which afterwards thickened upon them. As the rainy season had begun earlier than usual, the ground, naturally loose of itself, was rendered, by this accident, so much looser, that the soldiers either could not pitch their tents †, or where they did, the wind blew them down. In going along the sides of mountains slippery with rain, the men and horses fell : In passing through bogs, they stuck in the mud. The artillery-horses having failed, in roads which were not able to bear the weight of the artillery, the soldiers were obliged to drag the carriages along ; or, where the carriages sunk, attempted to carry the field-pieces upon their shoulders. From the want of baggage-horses, a sufficiency of provisions had not been brought with the army ; and wherever the soldiers threw

* Story, p. 43.

† Ibid. 1, p. 13.

their eyes, they beheld solitude and famine: For the protestants had quitted the country the spring before in the general panic, and the Roman catholics now fled at the approach of Schomberg. The cattle had been driven off, or were seen slaughtered and putrified on the roads*: The corn lay reaped, but rotting on the ground. Over the doors†, and in the thatch of almost every house, crucifixes were placed: No other furniture was left; and even these vestiges of men caused the present solitude to strike the deeper impression upon the minds of the new soldiers, who had come so lately from objects of population and plenty. The junction of the Inniskilling dragoons raised sentiments that were ambiguous: They were followed‡ by multitudes of their women; they were uncouth in their appearance; they rode on small horses called garrons; their pistols were not fixed in holsters, but dangled about their persons, being slung to their sword-belts; they offered with spirit to make always the forlorn of the army; but, upon the first order they received, they cried out, "They could thrive no longer, since they were now put under orders||."

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Schomberg continued ten days encamped near Dundalk, in vain expecting assistance to enable him to go forward. No forces, artillery, baggage, provisions, or horses, arrived from England, and no aids from Scotland or Denmark. Even the artillery which he had sent from Carrickfergus to Carlingford, was detained by cross winds. The Irish, who had retreated before him from a belief that his force was as strong as was intended, now made a stand at Drogheda, sixteen miles from Dundalk; and Marshal Rosen, hearing that the enemy was halted, said, "Then he was sure Schomberg wanted something,"

Schomberg
encamps at
Dundalk.

* Story, 1. p. 22. and 24.

† Ibid. p. 13.

‡ General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs.

|| Story.

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1689.

Sept. 16.

and ordered all the Irish forces to quit their different stations and garrisons, and advance towards Dundalk. Schomberg, conscious of his danger, entrenched himself in a place strong by nature. His front to the west was protected by a river between him and the enemy, on the east by the Newry mountains, on the south by the sea, and on the north by hills and bogs intermixed. He made it stronger by art, fortifying his camp with all ancient and modern devices. Here he resolved to wait patiently until the rest of the forces should arrive; and in the mean time to form his new levies to the arts and discipline of war.

Schomberg's error in this encampment, and the miseries of his army.

But a complete general ought always to regard the art of preserving health as one of the chief arts of war. Schomberg considered not, that armies confined to one spot must fall into diseases. He knew not the physical qualities of the station and climate in which his camp was fixed. He reflected not upon the difference between the former and the present habits of life of his soldiers. The common people of England, though accustomed to work hard, indulge in return in more of the conveniencies of life than the subjects of any other country: For they are accustomed to enjoy dry and warm sleeping-places, raiment contrived not for show but for health, plentiful, wholesome, and regular meals, and stated hours of labour, rest, and sleep. Hence, in the inactive state and confined station of Schomberg's army, which deprived the soldiers of their wonted exercise; in the low and damp situation of Dundalk; and in the moist climate of Ireland; his soldiers, without fuel almost of any kind; obliged to lie abroad, sometimes in the open air, and at best in bad tents; dressed in clothes to which they had not been accustomed, and which were contrived more for show than for health; pinched in the allowance of their provisions, and these not always good in their quality;

lity; and exposed to every sort of irregularity in their meals, labour, and sleep; fell into fluxes and fevers, and died in great numbers. The arrival of some troops from Londonderry imported the contagion of an infected town into an infected camp: And the evil was without cure, because the surgeons, who had brought plenty of bandages, and instruments for the cure of wounds*, had forgot the far more material article of remedies for diseases.

The enemies in the mean time, to the amount of 40,000 men, encamped upon the adjacent heights, and, continually shifting their station, enjoyed exercise, air, and health. They tried many arts to provoke Schomberg, or rather his soldiers, to battle; sometimes attacking his out-posts in order to engage the army in their defence, and at other times, passing near his lines to insult his soldiers, and draw them out. Once they marched in battle-array straight to his camp, and offered him battle. The officers of the artillery asked leave to fire. But Schomberg, knowing the difficulty of restraining new soldiers after action is begun, gave orders that no gun should be discharged, until the enemy came within musket-shot. The Irish at last, finding that all their attempts to bring him into action were fruitless, sat down in a camp near his, and, falling into the same state of inactivity, were afflicted with the same diseases: So that, between the two armies, there seemed to be a contention, not which should conquer, but which should bear death with most fortitude.

Sept. 21.

But as men in sickness are always impatient, and think they relieve their miseries by turning their complaints upon others, Schomberg's soldiers, and too many of his officers, complained aloud, "That they had been brought from their native homes, the regions of every bliss,

* Story, 1. p. 26.

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“ to a country in which every breath of air waisted pestilence along with it ; and yet were now precluded from the privilege of dying like brave men with arms in their hands. There was the enemy, battle, and conquest : Here only inaction, disgrace, the dying, and the dead.” They next converted their resentment against their general, “ whose age,” they said, “ rendered him equally inactive against the enemy’s army, and incapable of attending to the state of his own, and who because he was a foreigner, looked with indifference upon the sufferings of Englishmen.” Schomberg saw the danger of leading men to battle whose spirits were only irritated by despair ; that, in advancing, there was ruin, in retiring, both disgrace and danger ; and upon these accounts, the necessity of continuing in the strong post he possessed. But, knowing how fruitless it would be, to apply reason to complaints which were founded in feeling, he submitted to bear the clamours of a people, whose independence makes clamour habitual, and whose sufferings made it at that time excusable.

But he sent dispatch after dispatch to the shores, and into England and Scotland, for help. Once he quitted the army himself, and went to Carlingford, as if his presence in the place where succours should have come, could have relieved his mind from reflecting they were not there. By degrees, some ships arrived from Britain, and by degrees some regiments : But the regiments from Scotland were thin, many * of the men having deserted for want of pay, and all the new succours were not sufficient to fill up the places of the dead. When these regiments arrived, Schomberg ordered the usual honours of firing at the burials of officers to be discontinued, both to conceal his losses from the enemy, and to hide danger from his new friends. But the order only served to call

* Story, 37. 46.

the attention of these last to the horrors of that camp into which they were entering; and the silence, by varying the impression, increased the havoc in the imaginations of those who were in it before. To save the troops, he ordered them to be hutted: But this heightened their sense of miseries, because it shewed them they were to be lasting.

From anger, the soldiers fell into despondency. Catching by contagion * the superstition of the country in which they were, they recounted to each other all the calamities which, from the most ancient times, had befallen armies at Dundalk †. A report was believed among them, that the year before, two meteors had been seen hovering over Dundalk in the night-time, and that heavy groans and shrieks had been heard, at the same time, in the air. But this succession of passions gave way in the end, as often happens, to total indifference of sentiment. The minds of the soldiers became so callous ‡, that when their dying companions were carried from the tents to the hospitals, those who remained complained they were bereft of shelter from the wind: They drew the dead bodies to them, and made use of them for seats and pillows: They shewed no pity, or even attention to each other's distresses; and, surrounded with death upon all sides, every one acted as if he alone was immortal. The only passion which seemed to be alive in them was envy: For the Dutch corps having preserved their health entire, either from their being veteran troops, or because they had been habituated to a moist climate, or from the warmer clothing of the men, and the superior attention of their officers and surgeons; the English soldiers imputed it to the greater care which Schomberg took of Dutch troops than of their countrymen.

* General M'Kay's manuscript correspondence with King William and Lord Portland.

† Story, 145. Hamilton, 35.

‡ Story, i. p. 30.

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1689.

First day of
the retreat
of the Eng-
lish army
into quar-
ters.

In November, the rains became so intolerable, that both armies, as if by mutual agreement, quitted their camps at the same time, in order to retire to quarters, without attempting to take advantage of each other's retreat; both unable to annoy, both happy not to be annoyed. But the retreat of the English presented the misfortune in the greatest extent: For the Irish, being masters of the country, had privately carried off their sick by degrees, and by different routes: But, the day before the English decamped, they sent off theirs in one body; so that those who had hitherto known only their neighbours distresses, or their own, saw now the calamity of all. And because the spirits of the officers and soldiers were not agitated by an enemy's army pursuing them, they contemplated with the greater leisure the weakness of their own army. As soon as the huts and tents were uncovered, the whole range of the camp looked like one vast hospital; and the number of those who were preparing the sick for their journey was so great, that most of the army seemed to be no more than attendants upon it. As there was not a sufficient number of waggons for carrying off all the sick, many came along, leaning on their companions, or reeling where their anxiety to be gone had made them attempt to walk without help. As it is natural for the human mind, when in dejection, to oppose whatever is proposed to it, the sick soldiers, who received orders to go to England, exclaimed they were now to be exposed to a merciless element, after having escaped from a merciless climate; and those who were to be sent to the hospital at Belfast, complained that their society in infection was only to be prolonged, and that they were unjustly detained from the care which their own friends and relations would have taken of them in their own country. Many, in a fullen despair, declared they would end their miseries where they had begun them.

them. And the soldiers who were left behind, either because there were not carriages for them, or because they could not bear to be carried, mixed tender adieus with bitter execrations against their companions who forsook them. Upon the sight of all these things, men felt for the whole that pity which they had not felt for individuals: For public misery, as often happens, restored private virtue. Schomberg ordered the colonels and brigadiers to attend, like corporals and serjeants, upon the waggons, the ships, and the hospitals. He stood himself, during many hours in the cold and rain, leaning upon a bridge, along which the long line of carriages, filled with disabled soldiers, passed in the sight of the army, to thank them for their services, to lament their distresses, to cherish their spirits, and to reprimand every officer who shewed not the same attention with himself; shaking with age, but more with the strength of affection. The Divinity has given to all men some portion of his own virtue. Touched with the generous sensibility of their general, the soldiers repented of all the clamours they had raised against him, and attentive only to his anguish, forgot their own. In the mean time, 200 of the enemy's horse having appeared in sight, a false alarm was given, that their army was approaching to storm the lines. The healthy prepared to hasten back to defend a camp late the object of their horror; and the sick unbuckled the tents, which had been packed up for keeping them warm in the ships, in order to give their companions, who were returning to the camp, that shelter which they took from themselves. With a spirited pleasantry, the soldiers said one to another, "The rogues shall now pay for the wet quarters, in which they have kept us so long*."

But the march of the army itself, next day, was more lamentable still; when the soldiers observed the diminution

Second day's
retreat.

* Story, I. p. 50.

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of their numbers, some companies * not having twelve men in them; the inability of many to bear the march, who, though they had appeared to be in health, had lost their strength; the bloom of English youth with which they had entered the camp; changed into the fallowness of old age in all; and marched through the dead and dying bodies of their friends, who the preceding day had gone before them: Many who died in the passage † had been cast upon the roads from the waggons; others had fallen off, or, unable to bear the jolting, had thrown themselves down; and of these, some in faint tones addressed their companions who were passing them, to bear them along, and others, in bolder voices, by the blows of soldiers and of friends, to end all their miseries. Relations agree, that of 15,000 who at different times entered the English camp, above 8000 died in the camp, or soon after they left it; and the loss of the Irish was not much less ‡.

The whigs
impute the
misfortunes
of the army
to the tories.

The English know no intermediate line between success and defeat. Accustomed to high hopes by their liberty, their wealth, their valour, and the security which the sea gives them, of insulting every-where with impunity, they heard with the same indignation that Ireland was not conquered, as they would have heard that it was lost. It happened that several who served the fleet and army had been servants to the late king, and others were known to be of the tory party. The whigs therefore spread a report through the nation, which, in circumstances of difficulty, is always jealous, but, at this period of national division, was doubly so, that the miscarriages in Ireland were the effect of design. They asked, "Where was the wonder that the servants of the late king, or those attached to his interest, should embarrass a service di-

* Story, 35.

† Ibid. i. p. 36.

‡ See Appendix to this Book, No. 1.

“rected against their old master?” Nothing was laid to the charge of accident; nothing to the looseness incident to a new and unsettled government, which had a vast variety of new objects to attend to at once; nothing to the avarice of contractors; nothing to disease itself. Schömberg escaped blame, under the pretence of pity for the usage he had met with. And some of deep and malignant reflection said, “The King kept the war alive, that he might have the glory of ending it himself.”

In this situation, the King became unpopular in the same degree in which, the year before, he had been the idol of the people. His breach with the church, his differences with the whigs, or rather the breach of the church, and the differences of the whigs with him, together with the dark appearances of public events, had insensibly alienated the affections of the people. Even the imprudent and cruel measures of James’s government in Ireland, irritated the spirits of men against the King’s in England. With imbittered tempers, with gloomy forebodings, they first whispered to each other, and then exclaimed in public, “That the kingdom was equally doomed by Providence to ruin, whether the fate of war should bestow it upon a prince who was an enemy, or upon one who was indifferent to its interests.” As, in moments of high passion, the passions are easily transferred to trifles, the manners, even the looks of the King, gave disgust to his English subjects. The facility of temper of James the First; the necessities under which his successor laboured; the magnanimity of Cromwell, which caused him to despise distance and form; the habits of pleasure of Charles the Second, and those of party-business of the late king, which he chose to manage by himself, and not by others; had made all these princes easy of access, and had created an appearance of crowds, and ease, and bustle about their courts: Hence people of fashion

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The King
becomes un-
popular.

fashion in England had been long accustomed to look upon their sovereign in some degree as their companion, and upon his place of residence as theirs. But William, who did not consider that kings must be attentive even to trifles, because many of those who surround them are triflers, neglected many of the common attentions of a court. He was continually employed in his cabinet with his ministers, or in the field among his regiments, or in hunting the stag for his health. He thought, or pretended to think, that the smoke of London disagreed with him, and retired to Hampton-court; — a house which, because it was built upon a dead flat, and upon the banks of water stagnating to appearance, resembled a palace of Holland. He took pleasure in adorning it with sumptuous buildings and gardens in the Dutch taste, and with those flowers, trees, and ornaments, which are the favourites of Holland. In the minds of some, even of the wise *, the solitude of the palace at London seemed to throw a gloom upon its master. The citizens asked, “What offence had they committed to draw upon them the desertion of their sovereign, and the loss of the usual festivity and pomp of a court?” Some complained, “That William was lavishing the national treasures upon his pleasures, at a time when the nation was drained by the consumptions of foreign and of civil war.” Others said, “That, in the solitudes of his new palace and gardens, and in the prospects they afforded, he wished to forget that he was in England, and to bring the remembrance of his own country continually into his thoughts.” The populace received their impressions, as they commonly do, from their senses. They remarked the King’s small stature, the weak texture of his body, and, taking advantage of a

* Sir John Reresby.

peculiarity in his features, called him in derision "hook-nose." The malignant satisfaction with which the great and the little equally repeated court-scandal, marked the growth of the distemper in all. It was reported, that upon the King's neglecting to rise when Lord Mulgrave entered his chamber, Mulgrave hastily retired, muttering as he went out, "That he saw the King could rise before nothing but towns:" that Lady Dorchester, the late King's mistress, having been told that the Queen would treat her, when presented, on no higher foot than her father's daughter, she answered, "Then I will treat her like her mother's;" and that the Queen having accordingly received her drily, she said, "There is no occasion for this: For if I broke one of the commands with your father, you broke another." William having been often warned of this growing dislike, endeavoured at last to remove it. He went * to the horse-races at Newmarket, mingling, according to the manners of his English subjects, among the meanest and the greatest of mankind. He submitted to the fatigues of an university-reception, and of a city-feast. He was made a tradesman of London at his own desire, and conferred knighthood upon the person who brought him his freedom. And he who was proud and a soldier, pretended to derive honour † from being chosen master of the grocers' company. But the awkwardness with which he made these efforts, only betrayed the uneasiness he felt in being obliged to make them.

While the minds of men were thus affected, the time arrived for the clergy to take the oaths to the new government, or to be suspended if they did not. Eight bishops, among whom were five of the six surviving prelates who had been sent to the Tower by King James, together with a great number of the church of England,

The oaths
refused by
many of the
church.

* Gazette, Oct. 7.

† Ibid. Oct. 28.

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refused to swear; and of those who complied, many did it with a reservation of the distinction between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*. Soon after, the Bishop of Chichester, taking the sacrament upon his death-bed, dictated a declaration, in which he testified the inward satisfaction he felt in suffering for the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance: A weak declaration from a weak man! Yet, as the last words of a martyr, it was spread through the nation, and, at this period of civil and religious ferment, added the impulses of religion to those of party in enthusiastic minds.

Notwithstanding these untoward appearances, the King proceeded in the only idle project he ever formed, that of uniting the church of England and the more moderate dissenters in the doctrines, ceremonies, and establishment of religion. For this purpose he appointed a commission of the clergy to prepare the terms of a comprehension: And although the House of Commons had addressed him for a convocation, only with a view to disappoint his scheme, he summoned one in hopes of success.

Operations
of the com-
mission of
the clergy.

Almost as soon as the commission met, some even of moderate principles in religion, such as the Bishops of Rochester and Winchester, retired from it, being more afraid of breaking with their own order, than firm to their own principles. This intimidated the timid. Old names of disgrace, if transferred by the multitude to new projects, generally defeat them. The commission was branded with the name of *the new ecclesiastical commission*. This determined the irresolute against innovations. The rest of the commissioners, however, proceeded, and drew up a number of concessions to be made to dissenters in the forms and ceremonies of the church, all innocent, mostly immaterial.

Operations
of the con-
vocation.

But the church seized the opportunity to rouse the nation, and to display her own importance to the King.

The elections of members to the lower house of convocation were every-where contested with an ardour equal to that which is commonly exhibited in elections to the lower house of parliament: A struggle which discovered to the King that he was only bringing new divisions and distractions upon his government. But it was too late to draw back; for, after the members were chosen, he could not dismiss them before they were assembled.

The convocation, which met upon the 21st of November, was even opened with dissension: For Doctor Jane, the prolocutor of the lower house, in his inaugural speech, extolled the excellency of the church of England above all other churches, and concluded with the famous declaration of the ancient English barons, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*" The Bishop of London, speaker of the upper house, on the contrary, reminded his audience, "That they ought to shew that indulgence to dissenters under King William, which they had promised in their addresses to King James." The members having been privately founded, as they came to town, were found to be refractory: The assembly was therefore adjourned, under pretence that the commission for convening it wanted the great seal; but in reality to give time for working upon the passions and interests of individuals. But attempts were in vain. When the convocation re-assembled, the upper house framed an address, in which they thanked the King "for his zeal for the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular;" because these were the words which the King had made use of in his message, to which this address was an answer: But the lower house objected to the words, as too favourable to dissenters, and refused to concur in the address. Amendments were made; conferences were held upon these amendments; and, in both, the excess

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of criticism discovered the excess of suspicion *. Individuals cavilled at words, as if they had been matters of importance, and then indeed made them important by obstinacy in their own opinions, and the violence of their opposition to those of others. All the subtleties and vehemence of temper peculiar to ecclesiastical assemblies appeared in this short struggle of a few days, upon the words of the address. The dissenters looked on, sensible of the illiberality of others, but inattentive to their own. Some of the enemies of government wished to see the comprehension take place, in hopes that, from the union, a new source of division might arise, and that, in that division, the party attached to the old church would naturally join itself to the party which was attached to the old King. But the convocation, instead of proceeding to the business for which it had been summoned, turned off to express their indignation against some heretical books, and to consult how their authors might be punished. The scheme of comprehension was therefore not proposed to them: The session was adjourned: And the King at last became sensible, how much easier it was to unite seven provinces and an hundred towns, many of them against their inclinations; and one half of

* The upper house had proposed in their address, to thank the King "for his zeal for the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular." The lower sent a message to the upper house, "That they desired to confine their address to those things only which concern the church of England." This produced a conference. The lower house signified they would agree to say "protestant churches," instead of "protestant religion." The upper house desired a reason for this. The lower answered, "They did not think fit to mention religion any farther than as it is the religion of some formed established church." The upper house then proposed to say, "The interest of the protestant religion in this and all other protestant churches." But the other objected, that these words put all protestant countries upon a level with the church of England, and insisted to leave out the words, "this, and," which was agreed to.—Tindal, with the authorities he quotes.

the states of Europe, many of them against their ancient alliances; in one common bond of political union; than to join fellow Britons, fellow protestants, men connected by friendship, relation, alliance, country, and interest, in one common mode of the protestant religion.

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The campaign of this summer was unfavourable for France. The French having ravaged the Palatinate *, with a barbarity unknown to the Goths and Vandals, sparing neither the temples of the Deity, nor the tombs nor the palaces of princes; all Germany had united against them in revenge. The Duke of Lorrain, who had been expelled from his own dominions by the French, reconquered, in conjunction with the Elector of Brandenburg, many of the places upon the Rhine, which the French had seized, while the Prince of Orange was employed in his expedition to England; and Prince Waldeck, with the Dutch and English under his command, defeated the French at Wallcourt. But these actions were only preludes to the war; and both sides prepared themselves for greater events in the course of it.

Campaign
abroad.

A little time before the convocation met, the King had assembled his parliament upon the 19th of October. But reflecting, that, in the last meeting, his measures had been obstructed, partly on account of the ministers he employed, he now informed the privy-council, that the speech he had prepared for parliament, was composed by himself, and not as usual by his ministers; and he desired Lord Halifax to yield his presidency of the house of lords, and removed him from his confidence, with the same indifference with which he had admitted him to both. His speech betrayed the extensive foreign projects which continually occupied his mind. For of the service needed for Ireland, he said nothing: But he insisted, “that

The parliament
meets;

* Siècle de Louis XIV.

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“ the supplies should be granted with speed, because, in the ensuing month, there was to be a congress at the Hague, of all the states engaged in the war, for concerting the measures of the campaign. Without these supplies, he could not know in what resolutions to concur, nor, without them, would the allies take any joint measures with him.” The miscarriages of last summer, he laid upon the lateness of the supplies which had been granted; a shrewd insinuation, which took the blame off his servants, at the same time that it suggested the necessity of furnishing what he wanted in better time for the future. In order to please the tories, he concluded with again recommending a bill of indemnity.

and proceeds
in the foot-
steps of last
session.

October 24.

Two days after, the King turned the adjournment of the parliament into a prorogation, with a view to quash the resolutions and bills which had created disputes in the last session. But the commons saw through the intention; and, on the second day after they were reassembled*, appointed one committee to inspect and report the bills which had been in dependance, and another to examine the proceedings of last session against the state-prisoners in the Tower. And then they followed the footsteps of the former session: For, in the course of a few days, they recommitted those state-prisoners who had been bailed; they resolved to charge the Earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, Sir Edward Hales. and Mr. Walker, with high-treason, for their conversion to popery, and the Earl of Castlemain for having endeavoured to reconcile the nation to the see of Rome; they prepared indeed a bill of indemnity, but they prepared also to disappoint it, by meeting it with a bill of pains and penalties against the delinquents of the late reign; they named a committee to examine into the miscarriages of last summer by sea and land; and declined still to make the Princess Sophia's

* Journ. H. of Com. Oct. 24, 25, 26, 28.

succession a part of the bill of rights ; although, to shew that this reluctance was not in compliment to the abdicated family, they afterwards agreed to a clause from the Lords that a papist should be incapable of wearing the crown*.

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The commons, after these measures, resolved upon a supply of two millions, and upon the funds for raising it. But here they stopped ; and, instead of carrying the resolutions for supply, and for the funds, into bills, they proceeded to enquire into the faults of government, intending to make the bills themselves the price of the King's compliance with national vengeance. Several things contributed to this. The whigs, by enquiring into the delinquencies of the two late reigns, and the tories into those of the present reign, hoped to fix indelible stains upon each other. Many of the whig-party too joined the tories in exposing late miscarriages, either from love of the public, or from hatred of the Lords Halifax, Caermarthen, and Nottingham, the objects of their party's aversion, or in order to get other men removed from their places, that way might be made for themselves. And numbers were drawn into both enquiries, from a curiosity and love of finding fault incident to human kind. The commons ordered a bill for the forfeiture of Lord Jefferys, although he was dead ; and resolved to charge his estate with £15,000 which he had extorted from Mr. Prideaux, when accused of accession to the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, although it be a maxim of all laws, that the crime of the ancestor cannot affect the heir, at the suit of a private party. They resolved, that the executors of Sir Thomas Armstrong should have reparation out of the estates of his prosecutors and judges, though some of them were dead. An attack of the same kind came from a quarter from whence it was less expected. The house

Inquiries
into offences
in the late
reigns.

* Journ. H. of Com. November 2, 7, 8, 9, 6.

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of Lords, upon a motion made by the Duke of Bolton, named a committee to inquire * who were the advisers and prosecutors in the murders (as they were called) of Lord Ruffel, Mr. Sydney, and others executed for the Rye-house plot; who were the advisers of *quo warrantos*, the regulators, and the public assertors of the dispensing power. Messengers were sent to the commons, desiring the attendance of several of their members to give information to the committee upon these subjects. The commons consented. But the interposition of the court to prevent revenge from running to extremes, the forgiveness of those who had been injured, the delicacy of the persons whose attendance was asked, and who were afraid of being accounted informers, were the causes why that information was not given which was wished for. Besides, the greater part of the peers was averse from all inquiries into the transactions of the late reign: For, with a view to stop such inquiries, they ordered the judges † to draw a bill for allowing the dispensing power in proper cases; an order which admitted that such a power existed; and they refused ‡ to declare, that the regulating of corporations was illegal.

From the faults of the late, the commons turned to those of the present, government. The committee appointed to inquire into miscarriages in the army and navy, were supported with votes to enable them to pry into the most minute articles of service §.

* Journ. H. of Com. November 13.

† Journ. H. of Lords, November 22.

‡ Ibid. January 23.

§ By vote of the 8th November, the committee was empowered to inquire into the state of the stores, the arrears due to soldiers and seamen, and the numbers of effective men in the regiments. By vote of 9th November, all who should give information of abuses in the victualling of the fleet, were assured of the protection of the house. By vote of 12th November, power was given to the committee to inquire into the prices and quality of the victuals for the seamen, and from whom the victuals were got.

When the inclination of the commons for receiving complaints was discovered, numbers were presented. The officers exclaimed, "That the army in Ireland had wanted provisions, clothes, shoes, and medicines;" the seamen, "That they had been fed on victuals insufferable to taste, and destructive of health." The merchants, in the great trading towns, complained: "The seas were not guarded, their seamen were pressed to excess, and the captains of the navy exacted convoy-money for the little protection they gave:" And the merchants of London presented a petition to the commons, setting forth, "That, from want of convoys, they had, in less than a year, lost 100 ships, worth 600,000*l*." Informations and murmurs came from all quarters. And the nation stood aghast, each distrusting his neighbour, and all believing that treachery had insinuated itself into every department of service.

Some resolutions which were voted by the commons, partly from attention to national interest, but more from party-views, increased the public jealousies. They voted*, that the trade of the nation had been obstructed through want of convoys, and expelled † Captain Churchill, one of their members, for having taken convoy-money. He was brother to Lord Churchill, and the first of King James's officers who carried his ship to the Prince of Orange when he arrived in England. They committed the commissioners of the navy to prison ‡; and by this proceeding obliged the King to dismiss them. But all discontented persons directed their attacks chiefly against Mr. Shales;—a man who had been commissary-general of provisions to the late king's camp at Hounslow, who, by advice of the privy-council, had been sent in the same station to Ireland with the Duke of Schomberg, and

Attacks upon
Commissary
Shales.

* Journ. H. of Com. November 14.

† Ibid. November 18.

‡ Ibid. November 23.

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Nov. 11.
Nov. 23.

Nov. 28.

The King's
impatience
about his
revenue.

through whose sides, therefore, some hoped to wound the tory party, and others the ministers who had employed him. The commons began with an address * to send persons to Ireland to take an account of the numbers and condition of the army. Another soon followed †, to take Shales into custody, to place another in his room, and to seize his papers, although they knew that the King ‡ had done these things already. They concluded with a third, in which they prayed the king § to let the house know "by whose advice he had employed Shales." In framing the terms of this last address, the commons laid their complaints against Shales, more upon his disaffection than his covetousness, insinuating at the same time, that many as disaffected as he were in places of trust around the King. William, in answer to the last of these addresses, said verbally, "Gentlemen, it is impossible for me to answer this question." But, in answer to the first, he sent a message, "That he would leave it to themselves, to name not only the persons who should go over to Ireland to examine the state of the army, but also those who should overlook the preparations for the ensuing service there." A conduct which showed attention both to his own personal dignity, and to his people. The commons, returning the compliment to the King, left the nomination of the persons to himself, and presented an address of thanks for his condescension.

But while individuals were thus indulging their public or private passions at leisure in parliament, the public interest was neglected; no money-bill had been even once read; and no public bill, except the bill of rights, had passed the commons, although the session had now lasted six weeks. The King, therefore, grew impatient. He ex-

* Journ. H. of Com. November 11.

† Ibid. November 23.

‡ The King's warrant for seizing him was dated November 6. Vide Journ. House of Commons, November 27.

§ Ibid. November 28.

claimed with an openness and a heat not usual to the closeness and phlegm of his temper*, “The public interest was lost in the private passions of party. A King without a revenue for life was no better than a pageant of state. The rulers of a republic might be poor, yet honoured; but a Prince, to be respected, must be rich. There were gradations in the qualities of governments; but the worst of all was a monarchy dependent for subsistence upon its subjects.” Those who were attached to the King’s interest, took advantage, therefore, of the popularity they thought he had acquired by having committed the care of the Irish service to parliament, and moved for a day to consider how to raise the two millions which had been voted in the beginning of the session; but, to their astonishment, they lost the motion†, by a vote of 182 to 139. Mortifications thickened upon the King: Next day‡, a bill was ordered for the continuance of the revenue only during a year: The bills for a land-tax of three shillings in the pound passed the houses indeed; but the success of them was owing to the Tories: Soon after, the commons shewed so little delicacy to the King, that they appointed a committee to inquire into the application of his revenue. Dec. 1.

But the affront, by far the most hurting to the King’s honour at home and abroad, was a resolution of the commons for a solemn address upon the general state of the nation, “to lay before the King the miscarriages in the army and the fleet; to desire him to find out the authors of them; and to appoint his affairs to be managed by persons unsuspected, and more to his safety and the satisfaction of his subjects.” And the committee which was named to draw up this address||, did Dec. 14.

The commons resolve upon an address of disapprobation.

* Burnet.

† Journals H. of Com. December 1.

‡ Ibid. December 2.

|| Ibid. December 21.

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King relieved by the corporation-bill ;

is courted by parties.

it in terms the most injurious to the conduct of the throne, under pretence of enumerating the faults of its ministers. The King then at last perceived to what point all the late inquiries into the details of the execution of service had tended ; and found, that he was brought into this dilemma, either to submit to the ignominy of the address to himself, and the danger of it to his ministers, or to lose all hopes of the supplies, which were still unprovided for the public service.

The history of a government which depends upon the management of parties, and of freemen, must be filled with reverses of fortune, unforeseen even by those who lose or gain by them. The King was relieved from the immediate distress of his situation, by a too open attempt of the whig party to secure that power for ever of which they were now possessed. A bill had been brought into the house of commons in the beginning of the session, for restoring corporations to their original state, before they had been modelled in the two late reigns. The whigs, conscious that the greatest share of the property and interest of the kingdom lay in the hands of their antagonists, now brought a clause into this bill, to disable for seven years all persons to be electors in corporations, who had been anyhow accessory to the modelling of them : A clause which would have excluded almost all of the tory party from being members for boroughs during that period. The tory members saw the importance of the blow to themselves and their families. They flew to pay that court to the King, which he was just ready to have paid to them ; and promised to join the court in opposing the address, and in promoting the supplies, if the court would join them in defeating the clause of the corporation-bill. The discontented whigs, on the other hand, made apologies for past disrespect, promised better behaviour for the future, and, in testimony of their sincerity, offered their

their immediate service in the proceedings of parliament. The King, who a little time before had seen himself subject to one party, and the other to appearance alienated from him, now found himself master of both. The first mark which all parties gave of their submission was a general agreement to recommit the address *; and it was heard of no more. They then revived † the bills for the taxes which had been voted in the beginning of the session, and which had lain dormant and neglected ever since; ordered new ones ‡ for new taxes; and carried both on as fast as the forms of the house would permit. And, in evidence of their loyalty, they committed one of their members to the Tower for declining to take the new oaths: A severity which had not been hitherto exercised!

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Dec. 31.

But the King's satisfaction was short-lived. Lady Marlborough, who felt her own pride affronted in the disappointment which the King had given last session to the settlement of a revenue upon her mistress, now resumed her project, with the greater keenness, because it was her own, and because it had failed of success. Besides, she hoped, by drawing down sufferings upon the Princess and herself, to increase, by the firmest cement of friendship, society in affliction, the strength of a tenderness between them, which already resembled more the passion of lovers than of friends. She irritated the Princess against the King and Queen by envy, by jealousy, but chiefly by pride, derived from the dependence of her condition. She reminded her, "That by her the Prince
" of Orange had been invited into England: Her husband she had sent to join his standard when he arrived:
" For him she had fled from her father's palace: For
" him she had surrendered her children's rights and her

Diffensions
revived in
the royal
family.

* Journ. H. of Com. Dec. 21.

† Ibid. Dec. 30. and 31.

‡ Ibid. Dec. 30. Jan. 1. Jan. 3.

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own : It was she who had placed the crown upon his head. And now, in return for all these favours, he not only kept her in private in a miserable dependence upon himself for a revenue, but had affronted her in public, by adjourning that parliament which felt her wrongs, and was eager to redress them." She conveyed * to the ears of her mistress some words which had once dropped from the King at the treasury about her expences : A place which it was scarcely possible for him to enter, without being reminded of his wants. Irritated by such expressions, the Princess became every day more alienated from her sister and the King ; And they, in return, either complained of her discontents, or treated them with a neglect that was still more provoking. These things, at first whispered through the court, were soon conveyed through the parliament and the nation ; and the piques of women became the quarrels of parties, and of the public.

In this situation, Lady Marlborough's arts and violence got the Princess's revenue brought anew into the house of commons. Although all court the present sovereign power, few choose to offend that in reversion : Many even of the firmest friends to the King made their excuses, that they could not in decency oppose the interest of the Queen's sister : Apologies which intimated sufficiently to the King what was thought decent in him. He sent therefore the Earl of Shrewsbury, to offer the Princess a revenue of £ 50,000 a year, if she would stop the interposition of parliament ; and humbled himself so far as to desire the Earl to make his application to Lady Marlborough before he went to her mistress †. Lord Shrewsbury obeyed ; and, among other arguments which he used with Lady Marlborough, having said, " That if the King kept not his word, he would serve him no longer,"

* Duchess of Marlborough.

† Ibid.

she answered with imperiousness, "That, my Lord, may bind you; but what shall bind the King?" When he waited on the Princess, she answered in terms more suited indeed to her dignity and the King's, but through which similar distrusts were observable. The King saw the advantage which the Princess had over him, and opposed a parliamentary settlement no longer. To the commons, who addressed him to settle upon the Princess £50,000 a year out of his revenue†, though it could not support himself, he answered with that grace which distinguishes the actions of the great from those of the vulgar, when they are obliged to do a thing they dislike; "Gentlemen, whatsoever comes from the house of commons is so agreeable to me, and particularly this address, that I will do what you desire." Of those who felicitated the Princess upon her success, the loudest were the adherents of the late King, who wisely considered, that the surest road to his restoration was through a breach between his daughters: Congratulations, therefore, which might have shown her, that she had no great reason to glory in the victory she had obtained.

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The Princess Anne gets her revenue settled. Dec. 30.

But now the time arrived, when William was reduced to the necessity of declaring himself in favour either of the whigs or of the tories, by the conduct he was to observe with regard to the corporation-bill: For the whigs in the house of commons had†, by a great majority, carried their clause excluding regulators from elections. The King hesitated greatly, conscious that if the bill passed into a law, he should continue for ever the slave of the whigs; and, if he disappointed it, that he must break with those who had placed him upon the throne, and trust himself to a party which he dreaded, and which he suspected dreaded him. That part of the whigs which had promoted the measures of the court, and that part which

The King's distress, whether to take side with the whigs or the tories.

* Journals H. of Com, Dec. 21, 30.

† Ibid. Jan. 2.

had

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Arguments
of the Tories.

had opposed them, forgetting their late separation, joined in reminding him of past services, and in warning him against future dangers. The Tories, on the other hand, brought past and recent transactions to his view. "The Whigs," they said, "had opposed the pacific King James; had murdered the virtuous Charles; after that prince's death, had tried all forms of government, and been contented with none; had tormented the careless Charles II.; had attempted to exclude the late King from the succession, and had in the end dethroned him. None of these actions flowed from a sense of freedom, but merely from a spirit of opposition to royal power, in men, part of whom made the love of liberty a cloak for their ambition, and the rest of whom knew not how to enjoy liberty: For none had shown themselves greater tyrants when in power, than that Whig-parliament which had overturned monarchy. For these men, he had ventured his person and his country. In return, they had given him a crown indeed, but reserved the sceptre to themselves. They refused that revenue to him whom they called their deliverer, which they had not scrupled to bestow on one whom they accounted their tyrant. They had urged him into a war, only to make him dependent from his necessities; and given him temporary aids, and those insufficient, only to mark his subjection, and their importance. Not contented with prying into all the secrets of his government, and then exposing them to the world, they, who pretended to be its only friends, had kept the door open for the abdicated family, by opposing the admission of the Hanoverian line to the prospect of the succession. But the truth was, all Kings were to them indifferent: By displacing one, and attempting to keep another in fetters, they only meant to pave the way for that republic to which they

" and

“ and their ancestors had ever pointed. Even the Scotch,
 “ once obedient to reigns which the whigs called tyrannical,
 “ they had roused, by their example, into opposition to the present reign of freedom. They had discovered equal jealousy of his countrymen, their own,
 “ and himself : For, instead of proceeding to the united public service of Holland and England, they had spent
 “ their time in passing votes against their fellow-subjects,
 “ in complaining of their allies, and in carrying their insults to the foot of the throne, under the pretence of
 “ addressing it. Their views, though partial and narrow, were devouring and unbounded ; seeing they
 “ were not satisfied with excluding at present all other parties from all power, unless they were also made secure of possessing that power in all time to come : A
 “ power which he should not be the last to oppose, since he must be the first to feel the weight of it. Yet, impotent to serve him, they had not been able to advance
 “ that scheme of comprehension which he had eagerly desired, and which it was their own interest to have
 “ accomplished. Ever since the disputes between the King and people ran high, the tories had supported the
 “ interests of the crown, had reined the madness of the multitude, and at one period had buried themselves
 “ under the ruins of the throne. To their late Sovereign they had continued faithful as long as he was faithful
 “ to himself or his people. Most of them had respected the rights of the son, though friendless, and absent, and
 “ an infant, after those of the father deserved to be defended no longer : But, to the voice of their country
 “ at last they had yielded ; and, when they did so, they transferred their loyalty with their allegiance, and
 “ would support the throne on which that country had placed him, because it was the centre of the constitution, and the barrier against republican innovations.

“ They

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“ They had concurred with the whigs in inviting him to
“ England : But they would not now concur with them,
“ in making him repent that he had accepted the invita-
“ tion. In their party were to be found, the ancient
“ families, the great landed interest, all the weight of the
“ church of England, which could make or unmake
“ Kings at its pleasure. Placed at the head of the Tories,
“ he might be the sovereign of a people obedient and
“ lovers of order : But at the head of the whigs, he
“ could be no more than the leader of a party, whom
“ no King could ever govern, and no God could ever
“ please.”

Arguments
of the whigs.

The whig-party, on the other hand, remonstrated to
the King : “ Every constitution had its own principles,
“ upon which it was founded, in the spirit of the people.
“ The principle of the English constitution was liberty.
“ Of this liberty the whigs had continually been the as-
“ sertors. For her, they had dyed the fields of England
“ with their blood. The very scaffolds which they had
“ mounted so often for the sake of the people, made them
“ secure that the people would for ever be upon their side
“ in return. It was not associations of country land-
“ holders, nor the prayers of churchmen, which com-
“ manded the fates of free nations, but multitudes of free
“ subjects. The whole reign of Charles I. presented one
“ continued proof, that the authority of the landed in-
“ terest and of the church, was weak against the force
“ of the people. The refusal of the soldiers and seamen
“ to fight, together with the insurrections in every coun-
“ ty, at the late revolution, made it manifest how much
“ the government of England depended on the many, and
“ how little on the few. And even, from the prevalency
“ of the whig-party in the present parliament, the power
“ and the inclination of the people might be gathered.
“ Possessed of the great cities, and the great companies,

“ all the monied interest lay in the hands of the whigs.
 “ But in a commercial nation, and still more, when that
 “ nation was engaged in war, the monied was of equal
 “ importance with the landed power : For, without the
 “ aid of those who were able immediately to make
 “ advances upon the faith of government, no funds
 “ could be raised : And, without funds, no war could
 “ be supported ; seeing wars were not conducted now as
 “ in former times, by the vassals of Lords and Bishops,
 “ but by mercenary soldiers, fighting only for pay, and
 “ no longer than they received it. It was the whig party
 “ thus supported, which, at one period, had endeavoured,
 “ by the bill of exclusion, to anticipate his elevation to
 “ the throne, and, at another, had placed him upon it.
 “ Their principles of the supreme jurisdiction of the peo-
 “ ple were blended with his own title ; and, unless he
 “ made their principles prevalent in the nation, he must
 “ himself pass for an usurper. The tories had, on the
 “ contrary, long imbibed the principles of indefeasible
 “ hereditary right. For these, they had yielded to all the
 “ idle theories of James the First about prerogative ; had
 “ concurred in all the violences of the former part of the
 “ reign of Charles the First, and the latter part of his
 “ successor’s, drawing down mischiefs at both periods
 “ upon that cause of royalty which they thought they
 “ were serving ; had submitted to the tyranny of King
 “ James ; and would have done so still, had he not in-
 “ vaded the church. For these, part of them had en-
 “ deavoured to save the right of James’s son, only because
 “ they could not save his own ; and the rest still adhered
 “ to himself : For many of the peers and old gentry had
 “ refused to take the new oaths ; even the Bishops whom
 “ that Prince had persecuted had acted the same part :
 “ Great numbers of the clergy of the church of England
 “ followed the example ; and most of those who complied,

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“ did it in a way which discovered that they preferred
 “ their King to their God. Even the sufferings of the
 “ tories in the cause of the abdicated family, during half
 “ a century past, had attached them more firmly to it ;
 “ because people naturally love those objects for which
 “ they have been persecuted. But men changed not in
 “ an instant the principles of their lives ; and, where they
 “ seemed to do so, the very offer should create suspicion :
 “ Sooner or later the tories would return to their former
 “ principles ; because, after betraying a Prince whom
 “ they loved, and pretending to serve one whom they
 “ disliked, they could hope, by the success of a double
 “ treachery alone, to make their own shame be forgot in
 “ the nation’s. The example of Scotland might teach
 “ him what he was to expect from such new friends : For
 “ those tories, who had hastened to London with offers of
 “ their services, had gone back to their own country
 “ with much greater haste to disappoint them. Would
 “ he connect himself against those who were naturally
 “ his friends, with those who were naturally his enemies,
 “ and contribute to a disgrace which could not fail to
 “ draw after it his own ? The whig party, by delaying
 “ to give him a perpetual revenue, had contrived, by the
 “ ties of a mutual dependence, to bind him and his peo-
 “ ple faster together ; and every English monarch would
 “ find, that the surest basis of his throne was his popu-
 “ larity. Even if it was possible for the tories to be
 “ faithful to an interest so opposite to their interest, a
 “ tory King could be no more than the ruler of slaves,
 “ whose very obedience must affront him ; but, at the
 “ head of the whigs, he would find himself accounted
 “ the father and friend of a free people, whose very dif-
 “ ference in sentiment threw honour upon that sovereign.
 “ from whom they differed, because it marked candour
 “ and spirit in the nation he commanded *.”

* Appendix to this Book, No. II.

William, pressed by the sense of recent affronts on one side, yet fearing the imputation of ingratitude and imprudence upon the other, sensible of his danger on all sides, and irresolute from what he saw and what he heard, once leaned, or pretended to lean, to the desperate project of quitting England, retiring to Holland, and leaving the Queen to govern a people, whom he found himself unable to please or to manage. He communicated this project, with tears, to Lord Caermarthen, Lord Shrewsbury, and a few others, in hopes that from their own danger, or from tenderness to him, they might soften the mutual animosities of the parties they conducted. With tears, such as statesmen shed, they dissuaded him. Yet the rage of party ceased not; and each pressed, as before, for a declaration of the royal sentiments in its favour. Believing these tears to be real, or scorning them if he thought they were affected, William formed at last the resolution of giving a preference to the tories, of calling a new parliament, of going over to Ireland, and of leaving the Queen to co-operate with that tory-party, which, though seemingly averse from him, had been always favourable to the interests of her family.

The first symptoms of the effect of these resolutions appeared in the fate of the amendments to the corporation-bill: The King having thrown the court-interest into that of the tories, the amendments, after several trying votes, in which the tories had generally a majority of above ten *, were rejected. All the force of parties was then exerted to procure the success or the defeat of the bill of indemnity; and, in order that their strength might be more fairly tried, when the objects of dispute were united, the bills of indemnity, and of pains and penalties †, were ordered to be incorporated into one bill. The whigs moved, that the proceedings of the commit-

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BOOK IV.

1689.

The King
proposes to
retire to
Holland;

but in the
end deter-
mines for
the tories,
and to com-
mand the
army in Ire-
land.

Struggle be-
twixt the
whigs and
tories in
parliament,
Jan. 10.

* Journ. house of commons, Jan. 10.

† Ibid. Jan. 16.

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1689.

tee upon it should be by the nomination of particular persons, but the tories over-ruled the motion * by a majority of 17; the numbers being 190 to 173. The tories † also disappointed several attempts to get reparation for sufferers in the reign of Charles the Second, out of the estates of their judges and prosecutors. Yet they gave way to the expulsion of Sir Robert Sawyer the late King's attorney-general, and to a vote which classed almost all the malversations of the late reign under certain heads of exceptions from indemnity; unwilling, on the one hand, to undertake the unpopular task of defending the late King's measures; and, on the other, conscious of the King's promise to grant an act of grace to those who had been concerned in them.

A project to keep the King from going to Ireland.

In the mean time, a project was formed for an address against his going to Ireland, by the whigs, in order to embarrass him; by the malcontents to his title, lest his presence in Ireland should crush that interest which in private they espoused; and by both, under pretence that his health might be endangered in a climate in which his army had last summer perished. But, while this project was forming, and even at an hour when the commons were debating upon the incorporated bill of indemnity and pains, the King sent for them to the house of Lords, and under pretence of applying himself to preparations for his expedition to Ireland, prorogued the parliament. A few days after, he dissolved it. And he, and the majority of the commons, parted with mutual accusations of ingratitude ‡.

Jan. 27. Disappointed by his dissolving the parliament.

The

* Journ. house of commons, Jan. 21.

† Ibid. Jan. 22. and 26.

‡ In the year 1739, the Bentinck family in Holland printed a few copies of a letter from King William to Lord Portland, dated at Kensington 10-20th January 1690, in order to clear up some part of that Lord's conduct, with regard to Dutch affairs. Lord Elibank, whose lady was daughter to Mr. Elimut, high treasurer of the United Provinces, and connected with

The tories of the house of commons signalized their victory, according to a custom frequent in England, by dining in a tavern together. From thence they sent a verbal message to the King by Sir John Lowther, a country gentleman of vast fortune; in which, among other compliments, they assured him that his supplies should be speedily and effectually given: A message which was spread through the nation by the tories, to display their loyalty, and by the whigs to point out the abuse of it. Soon after the King removed many of the whigs from their places, and put tories in their stead. The most remarkable of the former were Lord Godolphin, Lord Delamere, Lord Mordaunt from the head of the treasury, and Lord Torrington from that of the admiralty; the first, because he was deemed too much attached to the

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1689.

Victory of
the whigs.

with the Ben'neck family, was so obliging as to give me one of these printed copies. In the two following passages of this letter, written at different times of the day, there is a curious picture of the state of the King's mind at that time.

“ C'est aujourd'huy le grand jour a la Ch. Bas, sur le Bill des Corpora-
“ tions; a la fin de ma lettre je vous en manderes l'issue, puis que je vous
“ escriis a present avant midi: Je trouve que les gens commencent a estre
“ fort en peine de mon voyage en Irlande, sur tout les Wigs, qui ont peur
“ de me perdre trop tost avant qu'ils n'ayent fait avec moy ce qu'ils veu-
“ lent; car pour leur amitie vous sages ce qu'il y a conter la dessus en ce
“ Pais ici; je n'ay encore rien dit de mon dessein au Parlement, mais je
“ crois de le faire la semaine prochaine; cependant je commence a faire
“ preparer mon equipage, et tout le monde en parle publiquement: Il sera
“ necessaire que vous disiez a Mr. de Ginckel et autres officiers, qui doivent
“ revenir ici avec ce que leur est necessaire de recrues tant d'hommes que
“ de chevaux, s'ils en achètent en Hollande, de ce preparer a parti de la,
“ au commencement de Fevrier vieu stile, puisque certainement ils com-
“ menceront de marcher d'ici au commencement de Mars. — Il est
“ a present onze eures de nuit et a dix eures la Ch. Bas estoit encore en-
“ semble; ainsi je ne vous puis ecrire par cette ordinaire l'issue de l'affaire.
“ Les previos questions les toris l'ont emporte de cinq vois; ainsi vous pouvez
“ juger que la chose est bien disputee; j'ay si grand sommeil, et mon tous
“ m'incommode, que je ne vous en sourois dire d'avantage. Jusques a
“ m'ouir a vous.” Compare Clarendon's Diary, Jan. 10.

Princess

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Princess of Denmark, the two next, because they opposed the court without ceremony, and the last, chiefly with a view, by giving an object to the clamours of the nation against the conduct of the marine department, to take them off the King. Sir John Lowther, in return for the message he had brought, was placed at the head of the treasury, though he did not ask, and for some time refused, the station *. The Lieutenancy of London was directed to be put entirely into tory-hands, in order to show, that the King trusted the safety of his own person, and of most of the wealth of the kingdom, to that party. Lord Cornbury's and the Duke of Ormond's regiments were taken from them, because Lord Cornbury was in the Princess of Denmark's family, and both had acted with keenness as her friends. Lord Halifax lost the privy seal, an event in which no party took an interest, because he was steady to none. Lord Shrewsbury, irritated † by the disgrace of his friends and of his party, threw up the seals. This alone hurt the King, because he felt that he had drawn the breach of private friendship upon himself.

Thus, in the space of little more than a year after William was upon the throne, he dismissed that parliament, and broke with that party which had placed him upon it.

* Sir John Lowther's Manuscript Memoirs in the hands of the Earl of Londale.

† Clarendon's Diary, May 13, 1690. April 28, 29. June 3, 1690.

A P P E N D I X

TO

PART II. BOOK IV.

Nº I.

Duke of Schomberg's Letters.

THE dispatches of the Duke of Schomberg, in Ireland, to King William, are in the cabinet. I print the following ones, because they paint in lively colours the state of the army in that country, clear Schomberg of the imputation of inactivity, which has been unjustly thrown upon him, and do honour to the talents of a man who wrote with the elegant simplicity of Cæsar, and to whose reputation and conduct, next to those of King William, the English nation owes the revolution.

Translation.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Things not in order.

Heyleek, 9 of Aug. 1689.

I HAVE been forced to give five hundred muskets to almost every regiment, both because the new soldiers break them, and because they are ill enough made, and very old, and because perhaps Mr. Henry Shales, who had the inspection of them, may have taken presents to receive bad arms.

Translation.

Part of Duke Schomberg's letter to King William.—The burden of every thing lies on him.

Carrickfergus, 27 Aug. 1689.

HITHERTO I have been obliged to take upon me all the burden of the provisions, the vessels, the artillery, the cavalry, all the payments, and all the detail of the attack of the place. If we came nearer the enemy, we should have difficulty to furnish officers for all these duties. The officers of artillery are ignorant, lazy, and timorous. I discover that in the artillery there has been a great deal of roguery: The bombs ill charged, the cannon ill cast, the arms ill made, and many other things too long to tell your Majesty; to which, I believe, Mr. Henry Shales has contributed much; for even the miners could not be got to fix themselves to the walls: An officer and four French soldiers did it, and succeeded: Three of them were wounded by our own people.

Translation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—State of the two armies.

27th September.

THIS collection of people (the Irish army) have still some cattle to live upon, and burn the straw in which the grain is, by which it becomes hard, and corn is made of it, and then they make it into bread, according to the custom of the country. Our wants hitherto are in clothes and shoes, which I believe contri-

butes as much to the maladies among the soldiers as the new beer, of which there is indeed but little, owing greatly to the little care which their colonels take, although I often speak to them of it.

So far as I can judge from the state of the enemy, and King James's having collected here all the force that he could in this kingdom, he wants to come to a battle before the troops separate, on account of the bad season, which will soon begin: For this reason, it appears to me that we should lie here upon the defensive, if your Majesty approves of it, since there are troops to arrive from Scotland and Denmark; and the same reason which hinders the enemy from forcing me to a battle, since they can only come to me by two or three great roads, the rest being cut with bogs, hinders me from going to them, who have besides a little river and some mountains before them.

Translation.

*Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.—
Reasons for his not fighting.*

Dundalk, 3d October 1689.

IF I had nothing but infantry with me, the enemy could not force me from hence; but in a few days I shall be obliged to send the greatest part of my cavalry, which is not numerous, into the county of Down, from whence, in two days, I can always bring them here; and as there is a ford above Carlingford, I can have them even in less time. The horses, by the cover which they will find there, will be better preserved than here: Besides, the officers take little care of them here, allowing their troopers to go at full gallop, and knowing nothing of the way of foraging or of making truffles. This has been the

occasion of our never having had provisions for above two days.

With regard to our marching to the enemy, that could not be done hitherto, as we had not a single cart to carry provisions ; and as for the roads, all the people of the country can tell your Majesty, that we should be obliged to defile through a great road, with bogs to right and left : Such a country was never seen. And as for going to Navan, which your Majesty will see in the map, we should be obliged to make a great tour ; and the enemy, in two short days march, would be there before us. By the left we can march only along the sea ; but the enemy would have nothing to do but to come down along the river to stop our passage.

Your Majesty intimates that you are sending some troops from Scotland : Whilst these are on their way, perhaps those from Denmark may come too. In that case, there would be less hazard in giving battle ; and the war would be finished with less risk. This perhaps is not the opinion of the committee for Irish affairs, nor of some persons in London, who believe that one has only to give battle to win it.

Mr. Harbord has engaged to send your Majesty a review of the army which I made two days ago : By that it will appear more numerous than it is, the colonels being very able at making up musters.

Translation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Reasons for not advancing.

Dundalk, 6th October 1689.

YOUR Majesty will see by the memorial of my handwriting of the 4th, the reasons which made me think of marching to the river of Shannon. It will perhaps be the best thing that can be done, except seeking the enemy and giving them battle: For it appears to me, that your Majesty is of opinion that we should push them before this army perishes by diseases, or the succours arrive which the enemy expect from France. I should desire much to do the things which your Majesty is so eager for, and I would have marched to-morrow; but as your Majesty will see by the opinion of the general-officers, that all the army is without shoes, and that it could not march two days without half of them being barefooted, it is necessary to wait till shoes come from England, where Mr. Harbord has sent for them. This has made us lose the occasion of marching upon the right towards the river of Shannon, while the enemy are removing from us. I speak not of the other difficulties which it will be necessary to surmount the best that we can. I mentioned them in my memorial. They are, That the provision waggons are not all arrived, the horses of those which are, are in a very bad state. Shales says, that he was obliged to make use of them at Chester, because he could not find any to hire. I have already said, that he did not even take care to embark one hundred and twenty artillery horses, which are still left there.

Translation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Cannot comply with the King's desire that he should fight.

Dundalk, 8th October 1689.

WHEN I read over again your Majesty's two last letters of the 2d and 6th October, I find you have a desire that the enemy should be pushed. I have already wrote that that was difficult to do in a country where one cannot go to them but by two or three great roads, the rest being divided by bogs and mountains. But there are still other circumstances to be represented to your Majesty; to wit, that I am uneasy to venture your army against one which is, as all the world here knows, at least double the number of ours; of which a part is disciplined, and pretty well armed, and hitherto better nourished with bread, meat, and beer, than ours. But what is still more uneasy is, that the colonels who have lately raised their regiments, and particularly the Irish lords, thought of nothing but to have boys at a cheap rate. I foresaw this when their commissions were given them, and I spoke of it to your Majesty at the meeting of the committee for Irish affairs; but Lord Halifax's advice was rather followed than mine. I do not speak of shoes, having mentioned them in all my memorials. But if the want of capacity of the officers is great, their want of application and their laziness is still greater. Although the cavalry are not so lately raised, the officers, however, take no care of the horses of their troopers; and all are so accustomed to lodge in inns wherever they march, that the present kind of war astonishes them. I am vexed to importune your Majesty with all these details; but I think it is my duty to inform you of them, that you may see the reasons why I am unwilling to resolve to decide all by a battle.

I hope

I hope every minute, that the rest of our artillery horses and provisions, and the Scotch troops, will arrive; and that the shoes which were bought above two months ago will be found again. Without enhancing my services, or bringing into the account the chagrins which I have suffered, it is not without difficulty that I have come thus far, and continued here almost without bread. It would have been very difficult to advance without any waggons or provisions; and as there was a rivulet between the enemy and us, I might perhaps have been obliged to fall back, which would have had bad consequences.

Translation.

*Duke of Schomberg to King William.—To the same purpose.
Presses for a diversion by the fleet upon the coast.*

12th October.

I SEE by your Majesty's letter, you are informed we have a greater number of sick in this army than we have, and that to prevent our having more, we ought to push matters as much as we can, in hazarding something. If your Majesty was well informed of the state of our army, and that of our enemy, the nature of the country, and the situation of the two camps, I do not believe you would incline to risk an attack. If we did not succeed, your Majesty's army would be lost without resource. I make use of that term; for I do not believe, if it was once put into disorder, that it could be re-established. Nothing can give your Majesty a clearer idea of all this, than the remembrance of the nature of all new-raised troops, of which this army is generally composed.

I see also by the same letter from your Majesty, that unless something is risked now, the war will draw out to length. I am sorry it is not in my power to find expedients

dients to finish it. There is reason to fear, that if we had hazarded all for all, and had not succeeded, the enemy would have been immediately masters of all Ireland. I do not understand why so great an English and Dutch fleet, which has done nothing all summer, should not be able at least to guard the coasts of Ireland, and to make a diversion in it by a disembarkation, as your Majesty always projected, and thereby give us time to wait for the Danish troops, so that we may make use of all our forces : But these troops would have been of little use, if we had lost a battle before their arrival. As to this post which your Majesty speaks of, I can keep it with the infantry alone, till Shales has put his waggons for the provisions into better order, as also the artillery horses, which he is in the use of telling me are arrived.

I must tell your Majesty, that if our Irish colonels were as able in war as they are to send to pillage the country, and not to pay the soldiers, your Majesty would be better served by them. You may be informed by others, that the three regiments of French cavalry, and their regiment of cavalry, do their duty better than others. I have worked all this week, to regulate what the captains should give to their soldiers, to prevent their cheating the men. The colonels take so little care of their regiments, that the half of the pikes are broke, and also of the fuses and muskets ; so that I am at present forced to give them others from amongst those which I brought with me.

If leave of absence was given to as many officers as ask it, a great part of the army would be without officers ; the greatest part affecting to be out of order, or under diseases, which have no other foundation than in their weariness at being here.

Having communicated to Count Solms a thought which I had, to send the greatest part of our cavalry on the side of Ardmagh, he has found an argument which is considerable,

considerable, viz. that the enemy may put themselves between it and us, and that it would be better to wait some days, giving oats from the vessels to the cavalry, to see if the enemy will not march from Atherdee to Drogheda; or that perhaps in waiting a little, some of the Danish troops may arrive; and that in the mean time, shoes and better clothes may be providing for the soldiers. In all this I believe an abler man would be much embarrassed; for the enemy are not only strong in number, but also well disciplined, and the situation of their camps as well chosen as the ablest generals could contrive.

Translation.

*Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.—
The Scotch troops arrived.—Yet it is impossible to advance.
—Schomberg's unhappiness.*

Dundalk, 4th Nov. 1689.

THE troops arrived from Scotland consist of four regiments, of which the horses are extremely fatigued. That of Hastings has not three hundred soldiers. Though we could march with these troops, the country is of such a form that an enemy cannot be forced to battle against his will. I wish your Majesty would speak to a man who knows the country hereabouts well. It is not less difficult than Flanders for forcing an enemy to a battle. As long as there is not an establishment made with people at certain prices for furnishing ammunition bread, as is done in France, Flanders, and elsewhere, it will not be possible to sustain this war, whenever we remove from the sea. This is the principal article. I will say nothing of the other deficiencies of this army. I have given myself much pain and fatigue to remedy them. The thing is not easy with such officers. And there is nothing but the passion, the

the obligations, and the perfect devotion which I have for your Majesty, that could make me bear the chagrins and pains which I have suffered.

Translation.

*Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.—
Bad arrangement in every department.*

Lisborne, 26th December 1689.

THE Irish colonels have more inclination for the people of their own country, not because they know them to be more brave upon an occasion, but to draw the greater profit from the regiments. We have seen by experience, that towards the month of September the Irish all deserted.

The regiments of Lisborne, Sankey, Roscommon, Drogheda, and Bellasis, are very weak. I have been obliged to withdraw these two last from Ardmach, there not being three hundred men in the two.

With regard to the cavalry, we have examined their state in presence of Messieurs Scravemore, Lanier, and Kirck, and made an establishment, and likewise in the manner of their recruiting. The officers take no care of their troopers, or of obliging them to attend to their horses, which they are not at the pains even to blood.

I have also to tell your Majesty, that the negligence of the officers is the cause why the soldiers have lost many of their arms, notwithstanding the regulation I made, that the captains should replace them at their own expence: And their negligence has been so great, that they are come into this kingdom without a tent with them, and make use of those which were given them for their soldiers. The great rains have rotted the tents: It is necessary that others be sent.

As I never was in an army where there are so many new and lazy officers, your Majesty will have no difficulty to believe that this gives me much trouble and chagrin. If all were broke who deserved it on this account, there would be few left.

Mr. Harbord is gone without leaving us money to pay the troops. I hope that he will send it from Chester, as he writes from Heyleek he will do : But he has left us in great confusion. With regard to the officers, he has paid them no arrears. On this account they excuse themselves, that they have no money for their subsistence, or the relief of the soldiers. I at least spare your Majesty's money, as you will see by the bill of contingencies. But Mr. Harbord, in the general expences, makes a difficulty to part with money which is justly due ;—a delay which must bring on confusion. Since he is gone, I have made a difficulty to sign the commissaries payments, he as well as I having discovered that these commissaries are agents to all the English regiments of this army, by which they put themselves in the interest of the colonels. Never were so many people seen so desirous of stealing. As for Mr. Harbord's company, I never saw any part of it but the standard in his chamber. They say that his officers serve him in the qualities of secretary and commissary. I find that Harbord has not well examined Major General Kirk's accompts, or that he has not dared to finish them, as I learn that Kirk did not bring with him his discharges for the payment of the regiments which he had with him.

Translation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William. — He falls ill. — His indignation at the complaints from England against him.

Lisborne, 27th December 1689.

WITHOUT the profound submission which I have for your Majesty's will, I would prefer the honour of being permitted to be near your person to the command of an army in Ireland composed as that of last campaign was. And if I had risked a battle (which was difficult to do if the enemy inclined to keep in their camp), I might perhaps have lost all that you have in this kingdom, not to speak of the consequences which would have followed in Scotland, and even to England. Finding myself in such a state, assisted by very few persons, charged with an infinity of details, which occupied me, while other generals attend only to the important part of the war: I say, Sir, that there is nothing but my devotion for your Majesty's commands, which obliges me to sacrifice the health I have left to your service. I wish only that this ailment may not hinder me to act as I wish. Whilst I was able, I took the charge of every thing upon me, not being much relieved by the English or Scotch general-officers.

Besides, what shocks one the most in this employment, is, that I see by the past, it will be difficult for the future to content the parliament and the people, who have a prejudice that an English new-raised soldier can beat above six of his enemies. People are in the wrong to envy me this employment for the profits which I draw from it. I have not as yet fallen upon that invention; and though I should discover it, I should not practise it, being contented

tented with the appointments which are given me, and because people see well here that I spend the double of them.

Translation.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Condition of the army in winter.

Lisborne, 30th December 1689.

YOUR Majesty will find by the muster-rolls that we are stronger than we really are. I believe, if your Majesty would drive away all the commissaries of musters, it would be better. The officers for money do with them what they please. It would be better to make use of the Dutch method, which is to oblige the captains to have their companies complete on the first of May, and to chastise those who fail.

Translation.

Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.—Things continue in a bad state.

Lisborne, 9th January 1689.

I PRESSED Captain St. Sauveur to leave this, that your Majesty may be informed of the embarrassment I am under, by Mr. Harbord's leaving us without money. He played me two or three of the same tricks at Dundalk. When affairs go ill, he makes his escape. He took fright that he should fall ill. He used as a pretence for going to Belfast, that he was to take care the sick should want nothing. Eight days after, I learned that he was gone to a fine house to breathe a good air, without having sent even one of his people to Belfast to get a state of the hospital. I am not assisted here by any body. I do

not know if he will serve your Majesty well : He is a man who looks too much to his own interest.

There are two or three regiments of French infantry, who have only subsistence-money, not to mention 1000 *l.* due to each of them for the arrears of the officers. As the soldier cannot buy any thing in the market, this reduces him to famine, and makes many of them fall ill. The colonels have not neglected to send the officers to Swisserland for recruits ; but they ought to have had some of the money that is due to them. They have written to Mr. Le Stang to receive your Majesty's orders upon this article ; for as to Mr. Harbord, he never brings things to an end, when the question is to pay the troops, as I told your Majesty ; to which I am obliged to add, that what made us want medicines last campaign was, that Mr. Harbord would not give money to the apothecary, Augebaut, though I spoke often to him of it, and sent to him. There are other complaints of him here, which would be too long. His avarice has appeared too much, particularly in his not having paid the officers' arrears, which causes a great confusion here.

The English nation is so delicately bred, that as soon as they are out of their own country, they die the first campaign, in all the foreign countries where I have seen them serve.

Translation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Want of money.

Lisburne, 3d March 1690.

BY my last memorials, your Majesty sees what I told you of the want of money. Necessity obliges me to represent to you again, that I see with regret that the troops, in place of recovering, are ruined for want of money,

money, and that when your Majesty comes here, you will not have the satisfaction of seeing them re-established as I would wish. The letters from London being come yesterday through Scotland, I see nothing in mine which can make me hope for money soon; and having asked one of Mr. Harbord's treasurers, if Mr. Harbord had not wrote him that there was money sent to Chester, he told me he had not. If Mr. Harbord does not give money to recruit the cavalry and the infantry, it is to be feared that the troops will not be in a good condition: For the small sums which we draw from the customhouses from time to time, are not sufficient to give the soldiers. The captains and the subaltern officers take it to themselves, being obliged to live upon it, since they have received no pay for seven months. And if their arrears are not paid them soon, they will not have time to buy cart or bas horses for the campaign.

Your Majesty cannot trust to the pikes: They were very old, and became more rotten during the rains of last campaign. As for the Inniskilling troops, they cannot use theirs at all; and they say as much of their muskets.

N^o II.*Intrigues of the Whigs and Tories with the King.*

In the Cabinet there are two letters to the King concerning the dissolution of the first parliament ; one on the tory and the other on the whig side. The first is in the hand writing of Sir John Trevor ; there is reason to believe the other was written by Mr. Wharton, afterwards Marquis of Wharton.

THE matter wherein your Majesty hath been pleased to command my weak opinion, doth in my apprehension consist of two points. First, whether it be most for your Majesty's interest to hold on this parliament ; and if so, to what purposes ? Secondly, If your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think it necessary to dissolve this parliament, then what ways and methods are to be taken to get a good parliament, and to make it useful to your establishment ? &c.

As to the first part of the first question, whether it be most for your Majesty's interest to hold on this parliament ? I am with all humble submission of opinion, that your Majesty's best course is to hold on this parliament for a time, and to try them for a speedy and certain supply, that may answer and defray the charge of the government, during such time as will be necessary to call and prepare for a new parliament, which will take up seven weeks at least.

The continuance of this parliament can be of no other use to your Majesty but to gain such a supply ; for all other benefits and expectations from this parliament are lost and gone : The authority of the chair, the awe and reverence to order, and the due method of debates being irrecoverably lost by the disorder and tumultuousness of the House ; the managers having small credit, the rancour and rage between the opposite factions being irreconcilable, the nation in general grown weary of them,
and

and expecting a new parliament. The Dissenters being now under some apprehensions of your Majesty, and your Majesty having undeniable reasons and proofs to suspect and distrust them, the confidence on both sides is grown less : The Church party discouraged and almost in despair ; they will never agree to unite your subjects by an Act of Indemnity ; but they may agree to tear away your ministers, which is a safe method (under colour of redressing grievances) to arraign and expose your government to your people and the world, which methods have heretofore produced very dangerous consequences, especially in the beginning of a new reign ; all which mischiefs a new parliament will disappoint, heal, and mend ; and lay a surer foundation for your Majesty's happiness than can be expected from this present parliament : Therefore I do humbly conclude, that the sitting on of this parliament can be of no other good use to your Majesty (but quite contrary) unless to grant to your Majesty a speedy and certain supply.

To gain such a supply will be the next consideration. The supply demanded must be tenderly handled ; it must be reasonable and proportionable to such present use and occasion as your Majesty shall declare you have for such supply, otherwise it will give the Dissenters a jealousy ; and your Majesty to amuse them had better ask less than too much, and thereby leave them some confidence, that you still depend upon them.

Such supply must be also certain, and be made a fund for credit, and not uncertain or unusual ; for such projects will take up much time in debates, more time in drawing and framing a bill (wherein your council are not very skilful), and may meet with captious obstructions in passing both Houses, which waste of time is (I humbly conceive) inconsistent with your Majesty's pressing occasions ; for by such loss of time your Majesty will become more necessitous, and the Dissenters will probably take advantage

vantage thereof, and will grow into such power (wherein they are indefatigable, and never to be satisfied) that I fear it will be very difficult for your Majesty to extricate yourself out of their hands, &c.

The supply follows next to be considered of. I humbly propose for the quantity and quality of such a supply, a concurrent assessment for six months, after the rate of seventy thousand pounds a month, which with your Majesty's growing revenue, may (I hope) be sufficient to answer the charge of the government during the interval of parliament.

The way to effect this supply, is to order your managers to consider the absolute necessity your Majesty lies under to support the government and them ; and to press them hard in it ; wherein great care must be taken, not to give them any new suspicion of imagining your Majesty to part with this parliament, which they know is to part with themselves ; and to that purpose your Majesty may intimate to them, that at the highest computation, the Two Shillings bill will not exceed twelve hundred thousand pounds. That very near two-thirds thereof is already appropriated. That your Majesty cannot have credit upon the remainder thereof till the last quarter, which will not be till nine months hence. That there remains due to your Majesty (according to this computation) eight hundred thousand pounds, to make up the two millions promised to your Majesty, whereof this six months assessment will answer four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and your Majesty may bid them take their own time, and let them employ themselves to find out new methods and ways for the raising the other remaining four hundred thousand pounds, which your Majesty must also earnestly insist to be carried on and dispatcht, the better to cover your intentions. I conceive that such an assessment may go easily in the House, if the managers will espouse

espouse it heartily, this calculation having already been opened to the House, and the six months assessment having been likewise moved for by Mr. Foley and Sir Lewson Gore, and there are very cogent reasons to be given for this present supply, more proper for the managers to give, as having more of your Majesty's urgent necessities in their knowledge than any other, and indeed this must be wholly managed by them to avoid jealousy; and the church party to make a faint opposition. This supply may be begun on Wednesday next, or if the call of the House should be insisted on, then the Wednesday after, and may be finished in a week. But if your Majesty cannot prevail for such a speedy and certain supply, your Majesty, in my poor judgment, will hazard much by the continuance of the parliament, and lose that time in this (without any sufficient supply) which would be better bestowed on calling a new parliament, which, under God, I conceive to be the only means to answer all your ends, and to support and secure your throne and royal authority, and to reconcile and unite your divided and distracted subjects. If your Majesty should be unsuccessful in this assessment, which I hope you will not, I could wish your Majesty had a clause of credit by a short bill upon the excise, which was very strangely neglected, when the revenue bill was passing, for I took it for granted that such a clause was to be; for both Mr. Garraway and Sir Robert Howard declared it: But I am afraid that the opinion remains still with some people, that they are not safe in their power and greatness, unless your Majesty depend upon them. But had a bill of assessment passed instead of the Two Shilling bill, your Majesty had been above all these difficulties, and out of the hands of these men; and it is plain that this opinion has obstructed your Majesty's establishment, &c. But suppose (which God forbid) that the House should neglect or delay this so reasonable and necessary a supply,

If your Majesty succeeds, the clause for credit on the excise may easily and properly be inserted in the supply bill.

and spend their time in specious and frivolous enquiries into projects and methods to raise money, under pretence of saving their land, and fall into heats, and run upon your ministers for mismanagement (the Lords having provided some materials for them), and leave your Majesty's English army unpaid (which occasions great clamours and heart-burning), and the Irish affairs in a languishing condition, which must cause great confusion in your Majesty's affairs at home, and discredit abroad, and will encourage your enemies : What is then to be done ? I do with all humble submission to your Majesty's great wisdom and experience, and with the deepest sincerity of my soul conceive, that your Majesty has no other course nor remedy under heaven, unless you will absolutely throw yourself and your Crown upon the Dissenters, but immediately as soon as your Majesty has made this last tryal in all gentle manner, without farther loss of time to dissolve this and call a new parliament ; and in order thereunto, to take the first measures to maintain and keep the peace of the kingdom, and to provide for the subsistence of the government during the interval of parliament, and to make such other preparations for that meeting, by proclamations, removals, and other wise methods, whereby the Church party may be so encouraged, and yet the Dissenters be assured of their indulgence and your favour. But such a scheme must first attend your Majesty's resolution in that point, and then my humble thoughts how such an alteration may be best brought about and effected, shall be ready in two or three days time for your Majesty's perusal. Humbly craving your Majesty's gracious and favourable construction of my great weakness, but good intentions, herein disclosed.

Anonymous letter to King William, believed to be written by Mr. (afterwards Marquis of) Wharton. — Reproaches of the King's ingratitude to the Whigs.

S I R,

25 December, 1689.

BEING a Protestant, a true Englishman, and one that wishes to see your Majesty happy and glorious, as a reward for the protection you gave to our religion and laws, in driving out a tyrant who endeavoured to destroy both, I think it my duty to lay before you the desperate condition you are brought into, by the flatterers, knaves, and villains, you have the misfortune to employ.

You will forgive my speaking plainly, since both your own state and the nation's require it ; for if you do not, without delay, wholly change your conduct, you are inevitably lost and undone.

Many thousands of your ablest seamen, are either dead, or taken prisoners, and the rest so enraged by their ill usage, that it will be difficult to persuade them to serve you next yeare.

Your army, your very guards, last raised, are much disaffected, and will help to ruin you on the first occasion.

That parliament, which sett the crowne upon your head, is grown cold, and alienated in their affections from you.

Scotland is so farr discontented, that you must expect a warr thence next yeare.

You have lost the hearts of a great part of your people.

You have an expensive and dangerous warr upon your hands, and no revenue settled, nor money to carry it on.

And what is yet worse, your court and your councils are filled and guided by such men as most of all seek your ruin.

These sad truths need no further demonstration : They are visible to the whole world ; and I wish it were as easy to propose a remedy as to know the disease.

It would be an endless worke to lay before you all the particular miscarriages and misfortunes ; yet will I mark out some of the principall, which seeme to have caused such a change in your affaires.

First, gathering together King James's army, which was dispersed, and refusing the service of those honest men, who came to you merely out of principles and affection. These would have been true to you, and might by this time have made as good, if not better troupes than the others, who knew nothing but living dissolutely, and were hated over the nation : Your good fortune, not their love, made those old troops come in to you ; and whenever that sinks, they will be as ready to forsake you. Those were not your friends for your cause, but their own interest, seeing they had not a head would lead them against you, and that the whole people were for you. If any of them were discontented before, it happened from private reasons, either that their ambition was not answered, or that they were like to be layd aside. In short, they are corrupted in their principles : Nothing can make them faithfull to you ; and those that remain of the old gang, will infect what new men may be added to them.

In the next place, that many of King James's friends, and others, knowne enemies to the laws and government of England, were received into your councils, and promoted to places of greatest trust,

This was thought a fatality upon your Majesty, that you should pick out the most obnoxious men of all England for your ministers, when the declaration you published at your coming over was principally against evill ministers, and that you made misadministration the chief ground

ground to justify your taking arms. There is scarce one word against King James in your declarations : The evill ministers are alone complained of, yet King James alone is punished ; and the same evil ministers, or worse, are employed, when you might have found honest men to have served you in all places.

This hath been of unspeakable prejudice to you ; for it is visible to all men, and the meanest people reasone upon it, that we must expect the same counsells, and the same government, from the same men. If you did not come over to supporte our religion, and repaire the breaches that were made in our lawes and constitution, what can you urge but force to justifie what you have done, which would destroy the glory of your enterprize ? Wee have made you King, as the greatest returne we could make for so great a blessing, taking this to be your designe ; and if you intend to governe like an honest man, what occasion can you have for knaves to serve you ? Can the same men who contrived and wrought our ruin, be fitt instruments for our salvations ? or with what honor can you employ those against whom you drew your sword ?

The pretence of their being experienced is very weak : Their experience was only in doing ill ; and our lawes having sufficiently chalked out the functions of all civil ministers att home, plain honest men of good understand- and principles, suitable to the ends you declared you came hither for, might have performed these duties, especially since your Majesty's great wisdom can well supply their defects in foreign affairs.

We have the charity to believe that this one false step hath occasioned all the rest, and that (mistaking your men) you have been misled in your measures. We are willing to lay all faults at their doores, if your Majesty will not protect them, and take all upon yourself. This
is

is a rock we hope you will avoid ; for it hath been fatall to several Kings of England.

What or who but such men could have made your Majesty suspected to your people ? Those who would twelve months since have poured out their hearts blood to serve you, have sacrificed their fortunes and all the hopes of their families for your sake, do now grudge every penny that is given for the necessary defence of your government, and repent their too forward zeal for a man who despises his best and only true friends, and mistakes the right way to advance both his own and his people's interest and glory.

They stand amazed to see that your Majesty, who came in upon one principle, should for the most part employ men who have ever professed another ; that the glorious Prince of Orange, who had rendered himself so renowned in the world, for his steadiness to truth, justice, the laws and liberty of his country, and the Protestant religion, should, when he became a King, think himself less obliged to pursue those great and noble ends. The world was filled with your fame when you landed in England : Your friends adored you, and your enemies melted before you : There was nothing wanting to declare you, in the opinion of all mankind, to be the greatest and most glorious prince that had appeared for many ages, but your own resolution to give a finishing stroke to that deserved character. IN THIS YOU FAILED, AND FELL FROM A HEIGHT WHICH VERY FEW MEN EVER REACHED BEFORE YOU.

I will say no more on this sad subject, nor accuse or name particular persons, whose villainous councils have almost ruined you and us, least I may be thought an enemy to their persons, rather than their councils. But, Sir, I beseech you call to mind what advice every man hath given you, and what paths those you have been guided by,

by, chalked out for you to walk in: The success of their councils will tell you what opinion to have of them, whether they love you, and have served you faithfully.

Could they intend your service or safety, that advised your Majesty to entertain King James's army, thereby making you liable to their great arrears, and putting your person and cause into the hands of the enemy? You have not much reason to think better of them by their behaviour since that time. And then, Sir, you may well remember, there did not five hundred men of all King James's troops come over to your side till he left them and ran away; and many of those too forsook him, as rats do a falling house, seeing the souls of the nation against him, and that his own heart failed him.

Can you think, Sir, that any of those men who were raised by him out of the dirt, and have served him in all interests with all their hearts and might, could be such villains as to leave him, but that they saw it absolutely necessary for their own safety, not love for you? and doubtless they have so much honour and gratitude, as to betray you to him whenever they can: No man of reason can think otherwise of them.

Can they be your friends, who have recommended persons to most employments that hate you and your government, and can never be faithful to you; and where they could not put in all such, as in some of the great commissions, yet have they prevailed for at least one or two of their friends, who delay and entangle your business, and make it impossible for the rest to serve you as they ought, let them design it ever so sincerely? By the means of these men, your enemies never want intelligence how all your business goes every where.

If your Majesty will please to look into the charters of your commissioners of the treasury, admiralty, customs, navy, and excise, you will find in every place some whom

all England are amazed to see employed and trusted by you, and believe you strangely imposed upon in having recommended to you men who are marked to the world for infamous and corrupt knaves on every change or turn of government.

But what surprizes yet more is, that many of them were confidents of King James's, and acted as much to carry on his interests and designs as it was possible for them. I wish they did not so still, or that they were not in a condition to render him greater service where they are, than they were capable of in all their life-time before.

These men poison and trouble your business in its first motion; and it can never go well while they have the direction.

Almost all their imps are as bad as they, and many in your own family of the same stamp. Some of those who daily serve, with every bit you eat, and drop you drink, may poison you. Though it seems very strange that any man should have the impudence to recommend such persons to your Majesty; yet we cease to wonder, when we see the corruption of your court and ministers. The whole town is filled with infamous stories, how they sell all employments more publicly and with less shame than in either of the two last reigns. Good God, Sir, what a dishonour is this to your Majesty! At this rate, in a little time, the basest and vilest of men, and the most inveterate of your enemies, will buy themselves into all places about you; your ministers will be detested and abhorred, your court deserted by all honest men, and your government grow cheap and despised.

Can they be your friends, who laboured to replace King James upon the throne, and bring your Majesty to terms with him, when he had no power to support himself? Being not able to prevail for this in the Convention,
they

they desired a regency : That being rejected, they set up the pretended Prince of Wales his title, and demanded evidence of his being supposititious. That being not thought necessary,

They would have vested the royal power in the Queen alone, without your Majesty, thereby making the husband subject to the wife, contrary to the law of God : But that being carried against them,

They would have made you both Queen and King, giving the Queen still the preference ; and that being refused,

They would have made your Majesty King, and her Queen, settling the royal power equal in both.

So that, Sir, they struggled for every thing that could be devised against you, before they would agree to make you King alone ; and it is remarkable, they never yielded any one point, until your friends did, as well by threats as arguments, oblige them to comply.

You see by this, Sir, how they set themselves against you. In that great affair, there could not happen a greater occasion to try who were your friends and enemies, and it was hoped you would make your judgment of men by it ; for those who would not have you King, were it in their power, would have made you nothing.

I cannot forbear acquainting your Majesty with what was said at that time in the house of lords, by the Earl of Nottingham, though perhaps you may have heard it already.

He confessed that England was much obliged to the Prince of Orange, and that he was confident his Highness proposed nothing to himself but the glory of freeing us ; and that he had too much honour, justice, and religion, to aim at the crown. If that were expected, it was not in our power to give : The reward was too great in itself ; and we should pay too dearly for our liberty :

For, supposing the worst, King James was an old man, and could not live long, and the Prince of Wales was a child; so that the administration must fall into the hands of the nation, and they might easily restore the government to themselves.

I shall observe upon these questions, that it will be found upon inquiry, that the persons who espoused them in both houses (though some have been preferred, and trusted by your Majesty) have since opposed your Majesty's service and interest in every debate.

And that I think it next to an impossibility for any of them to be sincerely in your interest, or that you ought in prudence to trust them.

It was the best service that could be done at that time for King James; for, while they delayed your Majesty's being declared King, they both obstructed your possessing yourself of Ireland, and making the necessary preparations for the war in due time.

While the rebels strengthened themselves there, and the French King sent them the late King to head them against you, and supplies of all sorts, had it not been for these traitors to your Majesty and the Protestant religion, Ireland would have been mastered with little expence; and they ought to have answered for the treasure that shall be spent in reducing it.

Can you believe, Sir, that they who would have made terms for King James against you, will not be ready, if any change happens, to make terms with him for themselves, though it were by delivering your Majesty up to him?

You see, Sir, how King James is supported by the French King, and with what insolence the Papists, and many others, have carried themselves against you and your government. Many thousands talk against you in all public places, who not only declare their hopes of seeing King James here very suddenly, but seem assured

that

that the nation will rise to restore him as unanimously as they did to bring you in.

This confidence cannot be without some grounds, either from the assurances given by his friends in your councils, or that they see your business so ill managed, that it is impossible for the government to subsist.

At this conjuncture you ought certainly to trust none but such as you can entirely confide in ; such alone whose integrity is known to the world, whose principles have brought them to your service and interest, and whose safety and welfare is bound up with yours ; not such who would be in the same posts, or better, should King James be re-established, and have betrayed you to him ever since you employed them.

This spirit that has risen up against you is spread over England, as well as about the town ; and though you may not think the militia of much use against disciplined troops, yet if your Majesty will put it into such hands as you can trust, they will be able to prevent any risings or tumults that can be in the country, and secure your peace at home : Therefore, Sir, it cannot be ill advice to settle it all over England as soon as possibly you can : They are paid by the country, and do not cost you one penny.

There is another part of your conduct which hath been of great prejudice to you ; that you have carried yourself with such coldness, slowness, and indifference in all business, and between all parties ; the hands and hearts of your friends have been thereby weakened, and your enemies strengthened against you.

It was expected by all men, when you took the government upon you, that you would have settled it both with wisdom and vigor, that you would have made yourself safe from your foes, and put all power into the hands of your friends. Your enemies gave over all hopes, but

those of your mercy, and would never have thought of disturbing your peace, had they not been invited to it by the ill conduct of your affairs.

It is no wonder that so many of them are crept in about you, and that some have gained such credit with you, since you began very early to forget your friends who had best served you, and showed more kindness to those who had most opposed you. Certainly, Sir, you are the first King set up by power, that ever sought to be supported by his enemies.

Were they not fit to be entrusted and employed by you, who had hazarded their all for you ? or could you think those who had placed the crown upon your head not able to keep it there ? Those are doubtless two very good arguments for their fidelity and power to serve you.

Your coldness and slowness in business hath made your enemies think you are afraid of them ; and your trimming between parties is beneath you and your cause. Had you made use of those men alone who always appeared true to the interest of England, your enemies would not have had the confidence to have opposed you in any thing ; your business would have gone on smooth and undisturbed, and your reign would have been glorious ; but employing a medly of men, who can never act heartily together, your friends could not serve you, and your enemies were encouraged to intrigue against you.

The wisest and best thinking men do not comprehend what your Majesty can propose to yourself from that scheme of measures which seems to be laid before you.

Can it be for your Majesty's service to trust or employ any of King James's creatures ?

Or any who are notoriously known to be dishonest men ?

Or such whose mal-administration heretofore made them hated by the people ?

Or

Or any of them who had a hand, in the two last reigns, in bringing us into the misery your Majesty hazarded your all to deliver us out of ?

You see, Sir, into what an ill condition they brought your affairs in one year. Is it not manifest that some of them have betrayed you, that others have cheated you, and that altogether they put your business into such confusion, that you know not which way to turn yourself ? Your friends are hereby much discouraged, and rendered incapable of serving you ; for they neither can, nor will, act in the company, or under the direction of such villains.

Your whole people complain, and your parliament is discontented at it. If the parliament had not seen these men employed, I dare affirm they would have settled upon your Majesty and the Queen the revenue for life. In the last sessions they complained of these people, yet were then willing to give the revenue for five or seven years ; but now they see so much treachery, and the miscarriages grown to such a bulk, that they can no longer bear them. Your Majesty suffers by it, for they will not trust while these men are about you.

Who would have thought it possible, that the people of England should so soon grow jealous of you, their great deliverer, as not to trust you with the revenue for more than one year ? These men are the only cause of it ; and first or last, you will find it absolutely necessary to part with them.

If they loved your Majesty, they would withdraw themselves for your sake ; and if they were wise men, they would retire for their own : For if they bring us to confusion again, they will be certain sacrifices to the public.

Doubtless they endeavour to misrepresent the parliament to your Majesty, as if they designed to lessen your power when they question those about you, or are dissatis-
fied

fied with any you employ; thereby hoping to shelter themselves under your prerogative, and prevail with your Majesty to protect them upon these specious pretences.

This hath ever been the trick of wicked ministers, and as often their ruin.

But, Sir, we hope it will not be in the power of any to fix thoughts in your Majesty in prejudice of your parliament. No King of England can be great or happy without a perfect good understanding between him and his people; their interest is the same; and they are enemies to both who endeavour to divide them.

We cannot doubt your Majesty's affection for the Protestant religion and the people of England, since you have so much exposed yourself to succour them: And we hope, that neither the disappointments you may have met with on the one hand, nor the insinuation of ill men on the other, will divert you from finishing the good you intended us.

It is true you have an aftergame to play, yet we hope it may be retrieved, if your Majesty please to take measures accordingly.

Open your heart to your people, let them see that you sincerely desire their good, and that it is your misfortune, not choice, that you have employed persons you find them dissatisfied with; tell them that you are ready to quit whoever they dislike, and that you will never keep any about you who are suspected to them.

The putting away all those who are complained of, cannot have any dangerous consequence; for their interest is so small, that altogether they cannot bring a hundred men either for or against you.

This will regain you all the hearts you have lost; this will fill the island with acclamations in your praise; this will make the parliament give you all the money you can want or desire, and your name renowned to all ages.

We

We are fully persuaded that your Majesty does really intend the good of England ; and since you do, why should you not take the most ready course to make yourself and us easy and happy ?

Since it hath not pleased God to bless you with children, you will by this means raise yourself a name more glorious to posterity, than if you had children to make princes over many nations.

And if you had children to succeed you here, yet this would be the way to establish your throne ; for no King can be so great in England as he that reigns in the hearts of his people ; and he that sincerely desires their good, may command the last penny they have to give, and every drop of their blood to serve him.

The proposal of settling a revenue, by act of parliament, upon the Princess Ann of Denmark, was fortunate for your Majesty, for thereby you saw the number of your friends ; and that if you take right measures, you may carry any thing in this house of commons. Your enemies could not have a more plausible question to draw in as many to their side as can be brought against you on any occasion ; yet you heard how weak they were ; the design was plain to give the Princess a great revenue, and make her independent upon your Majesty, that she might be the head of a party against you.

This was laboured by the Torys and High Church men, and carried for you by the honest old Whig interest : So that, Sir, you have clear demonstration, which is the stronger ; and we hope you will no longer delay espousing the honestest part of the nation.

Those who made you King, and those who keep your power from being eclipsed, desire you to lay aside the obnoxious men about you ; and, Sir, we hope you will gratify us in a request that is both for your honour and interest.

Your

Your circumstances are such, by reason of enemies at home, and your wars abroad, that you will always want to be supported by parliaments, therefore it is necessary that you do what you can to satisfy your people, and do nothing to disoblige them to bring yourself into disputes with them, for it may be of most dangerous consequence.

It is observable, in the reigns of King James the First, King Charles the First and Second, and the late King, that when they once came to have differences with their parliaments, they could never after call any new parliament that would do any thing for them; and, on the contrary, that Queen Elizabeth's compliance and affability made her wonderfully beloved, and her parliaments grant whatever she desired.

If your Majesty likes this advice, there be some honest men about you whom you may consult with to improve it; tho' I protest that none of them know of this paper's coming to you, and am confident they will think these the only means to recover your almost lost game; and it is what was done by King Henry the Fourth, a great Prince, before you.

I entreat your Majesty's pardon for this presumption, and remain

Your most dutiful and loyal

December 25th, 1689.

Subject and servant.

In King William's box there is the following letter to him, in the year 1689, which seems written by Mr. Hampden, dissuading him from going to Ireland.

YOUR Majesty having been pleased, as I am inform'd, to communicate to several persons your resolutions of going into Ireland, the great objections that occur to

me are such, that the infinite zeal I have for your Majesty's service, makes me presume, in all humility, to lay them before you.

First, Sir, It is greatlie to be feared, that since almost nobodie hath escaped sickness that hath gone thither, your Majesty will hardly escape it; and how fatal that may be, not only to England, but to Europe, every body knows, Ireland bearing no proportion to the concern and interest the world hath in the prolongation of your Majestie's life; the reasons whereof are plain, but too long for this paper.

2dly, The great numbers of men which it will be necessary for your Majesty to carry over, and the many volunteers who will be desirous to follow your Majestie, and will be composed of such as are most affectionate to your royal person, will expose these two kingdoms too much to the designs of turbulent and disaffected persons, too many whereof appear to be in England as well as Scotland, who no doubt have an understanding together; and 'tis to be feared they do but wait for such an opportunity to execute their designe.

3dly, It appearing manifestlie already, that all things almost for the support of the armys must be supplied from hence, and how difficult it is to doe it, even when we have had the royal authority to command it to be done: Your Majestie will easily believe, that it will be next to impossible, when that is wanting, to furnish in time, and sufficiently, for an army near three times as big as this was this last year.

4thly, The difficultys will be infinite in settling the administration of the government during your Majesty's absence. If your Majesty intrusts your counsils to a few, there exception will be taken, and jealousies will increase, though perhaps as unreasonably as hitherto they have done. If your Majesty make a full counsell, then factions

and misunderstandings will arise amongst them, which will obstruct business; besides that it cannot easily be resolved whether there ought to be any parliament or not, even upon the greatest occasions.

Lastly, the expence of treasure will be so great, that it seems to put the whole fate of Europe upon the success of the expedition, which can never be certain, from the situation of the country, the unhealthy weather, the want of provision, and many other difficulties.

That I may explain the reason last offered, give me leave humbly to lay before you Majesty the state of the treasure, and your charge for the next year.

The land-forces will cost	-	-	2,500,000
Your navy,	-	-	1,400,000
The civil list,	-	-	0,600,000
The debt already contracted,	-	-	1,400,000
The contingent charges of transports, clothing, magazines, hay, artillery, and carriages, &c.	-	-	300,000
Total			6,200,000
Towards this there appears a prospect only of two millions, granted by parliament and the revenue in all,	-	-	3,000,000
So there will be a debt,	-	-	3,200,000

This debt amounts to so formidable a sum, that the effects of it appear terrible: For, first, the want of money will be so great, that your army will in a great measure unpaid: 2dly, It is almost certain that it will create obstructions in all necessary supplies to the army from time to time, on which the success of the whole business will depend; and your Majesty's honor, and
the

the glory of your name, and the welfare of these kingdoms, are things of too great moment to be hazarded against such apparent difficulties : But, 3dly, It is to be feared that the merchants who are to furnish powder and stores, and the navy and victualls, will have so lost their credit, that it is to be doubted whether it will be possible to sett out a fleet another year, which, added to the danger of a mutinie, which may justly be feared in an army so much unpaid as this must be, seems to reduce your Majesty's affairs in these kingdoms to the last distress.

And should the best thing that can, happen, notwithstanding these apparent dangers, which is the totall reduction of Ireland, this debt would be so great, that the parliament will certainly quarrel with the ill husbandry, and say it might have been done for less ; and the factious will certainlie make use of that argument, and the distresses your Majesty's affairs will be in for want of money, to offer things more ungratefull to your Majesty than hitherto they have done. To cure all this, in my poor opinion, there is but one way, which is to reduce the charge, whatever the consequences be, to such a proportion, that the warr may be carried on, and the government subsist, and the armies and fleet well paid, and thereby depend and be affectionate to your Majesty's service, though less numerous by this means. So Ireland will infallibly fall into your Majesty's hands the next year, if it doe not this. Your Majesty will be free from clamours for monie, and all the uneasie consequences of it ; your mind will be at ease, and your affairs, though not so raised in their victories, will be more safe, and if a disappointment happen, it will be less afflicting, and easier repaired ; and whatever happen of objection from the parliament, there is this answer obvious, that your Majesty hath done all that the supplies they furnished you with could enable you to do. But, Sir, if with this lesser

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army and fleet, you should happen to be so victorious but to a degree of getting Dublin ; then, Sir, as the glorie would be the greater, so every body that had money would be readie to lay it out upon adventures of lands there, to a degree of supplying your treasure, whatever the parliament doe. To explain all the happy effects of such an accident, would be too long here. There is one thing more which seems absolutely necessary, which is, that after the raising of the parliament, your Majesty go into Scotland, to settle that kingdom ; at which journey your Majestie will doubtless take such care as that your Majesty will be safe for many years from having disturbance from thence, and so defeate those that depend upon them here. I ought here to have offered your Majestie a scheme for reducing the charge of the next year, to the proportion I mentioned ; but not knowing how far your Majestie will approve this humble opinion, and besides, there being so many abler men here to make it, I do not here offer it ; but if your Majestie pleases to encourage my zeal, so as to command my thoughts, I will lay them before your Majestie with that integrity and true loyalty which I must always have to your Majestie's service.

In King William's box there is a letter from Lord Delamer to the Marquis of Caermarthen, in the year 1689, on the same subject with Mr. Hampden's. Part of it is as follows :

THE small regard which the King has given to my advice and opinion, as well in relation to things as persons, is an unanswerable argument to me, that I ought rather to be silent, than unaskt to offer him my sentiments upon his going into Ireland ; but whether such neglect of

me has proceeded from a mean opinion of my understanding, or a distrust of my sincere inclinations to his service, or else from a greater reliance his Majesty may have in your abilities, and the integrity of others, I know not; yet I cannot but declare, that it grates the harder upon me to see a preference given to those who have justly rendered themselves suspected, by opposing his having the crown, and obstructing every thing that tends to the settling of it since it was upon his head.

They are not many who will not allow me to have a competent measure of sense, and the number is not greater that think I act against my judgment; and must it not be a most sensible trouble, to be regarded as if I were a knave or a fool, and by him with whom voluntarily and unaskt I ventured all I had in the world, and wasted a great part of it, and have exerted the utmost of my understanding and interest to make him easy, safe, and great? But I have this to support me, that I have not done any thing to give him the least cause to distrust me, nor ever offered him any advice which the issue of it did not prove I was in the right.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.







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